



Walden University
ScholarWorks

Walden Dissertations and Doctoral Studies

Walden Dissertations and Doctoral Studies
Collection

2019

The Role of the Economic Community of West African States in Counterinsurgency and Conflict Resolution

Muhammed Touray
Walden University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.waldenu.edu/dissertations>



Part of the [African Languages and Societies Commons](#), [African Studies Commons](#), and the [International Relations Commons](#)

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Walden Dissertations and Doctoral Studies Collection at ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Walden Dissertations and Doctoral Studies by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact ScholarWorks@waldenu.edu.

Walden University

College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

This is to certify that the doctoral dissertation by

Muhammed Touray

has been found to be complete and satisfactory in all respects,
and that any and all revisions required by
the review committee have been made.

Review Committee

Dr. Richard DeParis, Committee Chairperson,
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

Dr. Paul Rutledge, Committee Member,
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

Dr. Tanya Settles, University Reviewer,
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

Chief Academic Officer
Eric Riedel, Ph.D.

Walden University
2019

Abstract

The Role of the Economic Community of West African States in Counterinsurgency and

Conflict Resolution

by

Muhammed Touray

MA, Oklahoma City University, 2004

BS, International Islamic University, 2001

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy and Administration

Walden University

March 2019

Abstract

From 1991 to 2002, the Sierra Leone government and the Revolutionary United Front waged war against each other, subjecting Sierra Leone to a civil war. This war devastated the nation and resulted in many human casualties. Although many researchers have investigated the role of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution, few studies have been conducted on the specific role of strategic processing tools used by ECOWAS during the Sierra Leone war to sustain a durable peace resolution in the country. Using Galula's conceptualization of counterinsurgency and conflict resolution as a guide, the purpose of this qualitative, I used an explanatory case study to determine the elements that made strategic processing tools effective. Data were collected through open ended interviews with 10 Sierra Leoneans that experienced the conflict, publicly available documents, and mass media reports related to the Sierra Leone civil war. All data were manually coded and then subjected to constant comparative analytic procedures. The key finding of this study was that conflict resolution was successful because intervention by ECOWAS was largely viewed by Sierra Leoneans favorably and legitimate. The ECOWAS use of force was vital for the peace process. However, there were occurrences of human rights violations that were not fully resolved through the procedural mechanisms in place at the time. The positive social change implications stemming from this study includes recommendations to ECOWAS to establish a disciplinary unit to oversee violations of international humanitarian law and other serious abuses by ECOWAS troops. These actions may advance peace among religions, political parties, and ethnic groups in the region.

The Role of the Economic Community of West African States in Counterinsurgency and

Conflict Resolution

by

Muhammed Touray

MA, Oklahoma City University, 2004

BS, International Islamic University, 2001

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy and Administration

Walden University

March 2019

Dedication

I dedicate this study to the victims of war, conflict, insurgency, and violence. It is also devoted to Nyuma Hydara, Chundy Touray, Baby Touray, Lameen Touray, and the rest of the family.

Acknowledgments

Firstly, with a wholeheartedly, I thank the Almighty God for His grace that saw me throughout this study. Secondly, I would like to express my honest gratitude to my Chair and mentor Dr. Richard DeParis, for the continuous support through my Ph.D. study and correlated research, for his encouragement and expertise. His guidance and dedication assisted me in the attitude of academic writing and research of this dissertation.

Thirdly, I am particularly thankful to my dissertation committee Dr. Paul Rutledge for his insightful feedback and inspiration to enhance this study from many perspectives. Also, I owe a deepness of appreciation to the participants of this study for being available to voluntarily share their experiences of ECOWAS/ECOMOG role in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution to sustain a durable peace settlement in Sierra Leone. My thanks also go to the reviewers of the draft of this study.

Lastly, I would like to thank my wife Nyuma Hydara and children Chundy Touray, Baby Touray, and Lameen Touray for your prayers, support, understanding, strength, inspiration, and input in my concerns and rejoicing all milestone I traversed through this study. I am sincerely thankful to my parents Alhaji Chundy Touray and Aja Amie Hydara. I thank my brothers, sisters, and the rest of the family for supporting me emotionally and mentally throughout this study. If I did not mention you here, my special acknowledgment and thanks would go to you. I thank everyone!

Table of Contents

List of Tables	vi
List of Figures	vii
Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study.....	1
Introduction.....	1
Background	3
The Economic Community of West African States.....	3
Sierra Leone and Its Conflict	4
Problem Statement	7
Purpose Statement.....	8
Significance.....	9
Theoretical Framework.....	10
Research Questions	10
Nature of the Study	11
Assumptions.....	12
Scope	12
Delimitations.....	13
Limitations	13
Definition of Terms.....	14
Summary	16
Chapter 2: Literature Review.....	17
Introduction.....	17

Literature Search Strategy.....	17
Theoretical Framework.....	17
Conflict	21
Conflict Resolution	23
War	25
Realist Theory.....	26
Types of Wars.....	29
Insurgency.....	31
The Process of Insurgency	34
Counterinsurgency	36
Legitimacy	38
Public Support.....	38
Intelligence Operations	39
Insurgents' Isolation.....	39
Security	40
Long-Term Commitment to Rebuilding	40
Counterinsurgency Strategic Processing Tools	40
Kinetic Force.....	41
Nonkinetic Force.....	42
Conflict Resolution	44
Conflict Resolution, ECOWAS, and Sierra Leone	45
Case Study	48

Summary	49
Chapter 3: Research Method.....	51
Introduction.....	51
Research Design and Rationale	52
Justification of Case Study Over Other Qualitative Designs.....	53
Case-Study Design.....	54
Sample and Population	56
Data Collection	57
Interview Resources.....	57
Document Resources	61
Data Management, Analysis, and Representation	62
Structure of Narrative Report.....	64
Issues of Quality and Ethics.....	65
Researcher's Role	67
Dealing With Researcher Bias and Limitation	68
Participants' Protection.....	69
Summary	70
Chapter 4: Results	73
Context of the Study	74
Setting	75
Demographics	76
Data Collection	76

Interviews.....	78
Documents	79
Field Notes	81
Member Checking.....	82
Manual Coding.....	83
Data Analysis	88
Results.....	89
Research Question 1	89
Research Question 2	104
Research Question 3	111
Evidence of Trustworthiness.....	123
Credibility	123
Confirmability.....	124
Transferability.....	125
Dependability	126
Researcher Bias.....	126
Summary	126
Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations	130
Interpretations of the Findings	132
Limitations	140
Recommendations.....	142
Implications.....	143

Conclusion	144
References.....	146
Appendix A: Interview Questions	167
Appendix B: IRB Approval	168

List of Tables

Table 1. Research Participants	77
Table 2. Manual Coding: RQ1 Five Themes	84
Table 3. Manual Coding: RQ2 Three Themes	85
Table 4. Manual Coding: RQ3 Three Themes	85
Table 5. Manual and NVivo Comparison Coding	86
Table 6. Query of Emerging Themes	87
Table 7. Themes for Research Question 1	90
Table 8. Themes for Research Question 2	105
Table 9. Themes for Research Question 3	112
Table 10. Popular Support Theme	122

List of Figures

Figure 1. Level of popular support for counterinsurgency strategic processing tools used in conflict resolution	47
Figure 2. Multiple data sources of data used to answer the research questions.....	82

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Introduction

On March 23, 1991, an intraarmed conflict started between the Sierra Leone government and the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), an insurgent resistance faction. The insurrection came to Sierra Leone as an extension of the civil war in the adjacent state of Liberia (Bell, 2000). The insurrection was the starting point of the decade-long civil conflict in Sierra Leone, a bloody war that resulted in substantial human rights violations (i.e., rape and torture) as well as ruined property and which left the nation in a devastated condition (Bangura, 1997; Humper, Jones, Jow, Kamara, Sooka, Schabas, & Torto, 2004; Basu, 2008). The conflict resulted in an estimated 50,000 civilian deaths, approximately 4,000 amputee survivors, 500,000 refugees, 2 million internally-displaced citizens, and 5,000 children recruited as soldiers by conflicting groups (Evenson, 2004). Additionally, the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), a regional force, lost approximately 800 peacekeepers during the war (Rashid, 2000). As Rashid (2000) noted, the war pervaded every level and element of Sierra Leonean society.

During and after the war, the Sierra Leone government, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the international community (e.g., the United Nations, the United States, the United Kingdom, and nongovernmental organizations [NGOs]) jointly cooperated on efforts and mechanisms to address and rectify the issues that had led to the civil war. Subsequently, they worked to redress both the carnage that stemmed from this conflict and to improve the sociopolitical conditions

of the Sierra Leone government and its people (Berewa, 2001). To accomplish these objectives, ECOWAS employed the strategic processing tools of counterinsurgency and elements of conflict resolution (e.g., diplomacy, negotiation, and mediation) to break the debilitating cycle of war in the country.

A number of scholars have written on ECOWAS's role in West African regional conflict resolution (Bamfo, 2013; Obi, 2009). These authors argued that an indigenous regional bloc (i.e., ECOWAS) should be responsible for solving internal conflict because of its familiarity with the culture and area. However, based on my review of the literature, researchers have paid little attention to ECOWAS's important use of strategic processing tools in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution in their involvement in regional conflict settlements in such places as Liberia, Guinea Bissau, Ivory Coast, Mali, and Sierra Leone.

The West African region continues to face terrorist threats in Nigeria and Mali, prior military coups in Guinea-Bissau, and political instability in Burkina Faso. While ECOWAS has engaged in various attempts at conflict resolution, it still lacks the essential mechanisms to manage peace and stability in the region (Aning & Salihu, 2011). Therefore, providing ECOWAS with additional comprehensive strategies for counterinsurgency and conflict resolution might improve security in Sierra Leone and the subregion as a whole. In this study, I investigated the strategic processing tools used by ECOWAS for the purposes of counterinsurgency and conflict resolution for maintaining long-lasting peace in Sierra Leone.

Background

The Economic Community of West African States

ECOWAS was established on May 28, 1975, and ratified in Lagos, Nigeria (Adeniran, 2013). As a regional organization, it is restricted to 15 countries or member states: Benin, Burkina-Faso, Cape Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea-Conakry, Liberia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo (Adeniran, 2012; Bamfo, 2013; Forere, 2012). ECOWAS is comprised of numerous branches including the authority of heads of state and governments, the Community Parliament, the Council of Ministers, the Economic and Social Council, the Community Court of Justice, the Fund for Cooperation, the Executive Secretariat, the Department of Compensation, the Specialized Technical Commission, the Department of Development, and any other agencies that may be proposed by a member (ECOWAS Revised Treaty, 2010; Moller, 2009). The heads of member states are the recognized leaders of each of ECOWAS's regional groups. Every year, ECOWAS elects one leader to be its chairperson. ECOWAS convenes at least once a year, with the flexibility to congregate as needed in a moment of crisis (e.g., civil war and coup d'état). The executive secretary (i.e., the president), his deputy, and staff head (i.e., the secretariat) are limited to serving only two terms (Moller, 2009).

ECOWAS intervention in regional conflicts began because of a lack of interest from the international community during the civil wars of Liberia and Sierra Leone (Arthur, 2010; Davies, 2010; Obi, 2009; Sampson, 2011). Subsequently, ECOMOG was formed to protect regional stability and peace (Moller, 2009). However, since its

formation in 1975, ECOWAS has deteriorated into socioeconomic and political instability, which challenges the security of the region (Bamfo, 2013). Most regional countries have and continue to lack the institutional capabilities and strategic tools to manage internal or cross-conflict crises in their sovereignties (Davies, 2010).

Consequently, members such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau, Guinea-Conakry, Cote d'Ivoire, and Mali have not been able to defend their borders or citizens from violent conflicts (Cham, 2012; Francis, 2009; Olonisakin, 2004). Additionally, groups like the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, Boko Haram, and the RUF have infiltrated into adjacent nations, further threatening regional security and peace (Maiangwa, 2015).

Sierra Leone and Its Conflict

Sierra Leone is located in the subregion of West Africa, with a territory of approximately 71,740 square kilometers (27,699 square miles). It borders the North Atlantic Ocean, Guinea (652 km to the north), and Liberia (306 km to the east). The population estimate as of July 2013 was 5,612,685 (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013). There are 16 ethnic groups living in Sierra Leone: Koranko, Yalunka, Loko, Soso, Madingo, Fula, Temne, Bullom, and Limba in the North; Kono, Krim, Vai, Gola, and Kissi in the East; Mende in the South and East; and Sherbro in the South (Glennerster, Jameel, Miguel, & Rothenberg, 2011). The Western region, which includes the country's capital, Freetown, was historically dominated by the Krio, but now has a diverse community (Glennerster et al., 2011). The natural resources found in Sierra Leone include diamonds, titanium ore, bauxite, iron ore, gold, and chromite (Central

Intelligence Agency, 2013; Elsevier, 2009; Glennerster, Jameel, Miguel, & Rothenberg, 2011; Ndumbe, 2001).

Sierra Leone gained its political independence from Britain on April 27, 1961. It was then led by Prime Minister Milton Margai and the Sierra Leone People's Party. When Margai died in 1964, his brother Albert Margai succeeded him as the head of the country and party until 1967, when Siaka Stevens, leader of the All People's Congress, won the March 22 general election and became the head of the nation's government (Arthur, 2010). Upon President Stevens' retirement on November 28, 1985, he selected Major-General Joseph Saidu Momoh to rule the country.

The decade of the 1990s has been associated with sociopolitical instability in Sierra Leone. For instance, in 1992, Captain Valentine Strasser deposed President Momoh in a military coup because of his inability to deal with rebellion, consequently forming the National Provisional Ruling Council (Bamfo, 2013, Davies, 2010; Dumbuya, 2008). In 1996, Vice President Brigadier Julius Maada Bio ousted Captain Strasser from power. In the same year, Maada Bio held a national election that returned the country to a civilian government, which was won by Ahmad Tejan Kabbah of the Sierra Leone People's Party (Obi, 2009). In 1997, Major Johnny Paul Koroma successfully overthrew the government for the second time and formed the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council, an action condemned by ECOWAS, the African Union, the international community, and the United Nations (Bamfo, 2013, Davies, 2010; Dumbuya, 2008). In 1998, ECOWAS's multilateral armed force, known as the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), and the civil defense forces (Kamajors) removed the junta and its ally, the

RUF, from power (Bamfo, 2013, Davies, 2010). The regional bloc restored President Kabbah to office, and he served another term through the general election of 2002. Ernest Bai Koroma of the All People's Congress was elected president in the 2007 and 2012 general elections through a democratic transition (Bamfo, 2013; Davies, 2010; Dumbuya, 2008; Obi, 2009). In March 2018, Julius Maada Bio became president of the nation.

According to some scholars (Aning & Atuobi, 2011; Davies, 2010; Iyer, 2011; Le Billon & Levin, 2009), the All People's Congress' abuse of power from 1968-1992 may have been a source of Sierra Leone's brutal conflict. President Stevens' policies from 1968-1985—which suppressed opposition, enriched himself and his immediate circle, repressed rural leaders, rigged elections, and caused general corruption and persistent poverty—laid the foundation for the war, in the view of some experts (Aning & Atuobi, 2011; Davies, 2010). President Stevens surrounded himself with a well-equipped Internal Security Unit from his clan (Limba) and marginalized the army. He also took bribes from Lebanese businessmen and ignored the rampant unemployment, poor living and education, and low salaries of his people, all of which contributed to a failed state (Aning & Atuobi, 2011; Davies, 2010). These conditions paved the way for insurgency and assisted the RUF in enticing civilians to rise up against the government (Aning & Atuobi, 2011; Davies, 2010). During this conflict, the RUF aimed to topple the corrupt regime of the All People's Congress and was supported by the National Patriotic Front of Liberia and other adjacent nations in the region such as Burkina Faso (Atuobi, 2011; Millar, 2012; Mokuwa, Voors, Bulte, & Richards, 2011). President Momoh inherited a weakened

government in 1985, and failed to improve the deteriorating situation, following in the footsteps of his predecessor (Aning & Atuobi, 2011; Bamfo, 2013; Davies, 2010).

In the 1970s and 1980s, the Sierra Leonean government's overall hostility toward students led to the creation of a movement of radicalized urban youth insurgents, which further contributed to the conflict (Davies, 2010). This movement was influenced by increased levels of youth literacy, contact with other cultures, drugs, the dissemination of radical dogmas and beliefs, and the socioeconomic stagnation of the nation, which led to corruption and economic dilemmas, such as pervasive youth unemployment (Davies, 2010; Euka, 2012). By 1987, students from Fourah Bay College and other educational institutions had become the frontline insurgency movement against the government's oppression. Foday Sankoh and others embarked to Libya for military training and returned to Sierra Leone to start the civil war in 1991, which subsequently ended in 2002 (Davies, 2010; Euka, 2012).

Problem Statement

Conflict and resulting crises and instability have characterized the experience of everyday life in the subregion of West Africa since the early 1990s. The western region of Africa is the continent's most unstable and prone-to-conflict region (Arthur, 2010; Davies, 2010; Obi, 2009). In the 1990s, Liberia's civil wars produced an unprecedented amount of bloodshed, humanitarian crises, and cross-border conflicts (Draman & Carment, 2003; Williams & Haacke, 2008). In 1991, the Liberian conflict expanded into Sierra Leone and led to the destruction of the entire social and economic fabric of the country (Aning & Atuobi, 2011).

ECOWAS acted quickly to end the conflict in the region (Arthur, 2010; Goldmann, 2005; Obi, 2009). Yet, for the two decades that ECOWAS has been involved in regional conflict, the group has never possessed solid strategic processing tools in place for counterinsurgency and conflict resolutions, according to Cubitt, 2011, Aning & Atuobi, 2011; Davies, 2010. Many articles have been written on ECOWAS's role in peacekeeping and diplomatic relations in the region, especially in areas of conflict (Aning & Salihu, 2011; Davies, 2010). However, researchers have paid little attention to the importance of strategic processing tools in ECOWAS's involvement in conflict resolution, according to my review of the literature. In this study, I explored the strategic processing tools used as part of ECOWAS's engagement in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution to maintain a durable peace settlement in Sierra Leone. In doing so, I have constructed an information base to advance comprehension of the conflict and the forces or elements that encroached on it. The results of the research serve as a model for future studies on counterinsurgency and conflict resolution in the region. Additionally, I provide recommendations to address further conflict in the subregion of West Africa.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this qualitative, explanatory case study was to examine the strategic processing tools used by ECOWAS in its counterinsurgency and conflict resolution efforts to sustain a durable peace resolution in Sierra Leone and to determine the elements that led to the tools' effectiveness. ECOWAS's conflict resolution experience started with ECOMOG's engagement in the Liberian civil war, which then expanded to Sierra Leone (Davies, 2010). The results of this study provide guidance for

ECOWAS leaders and those of other relevant groups on how to manage potential insurrection, terrorism, or conflict in the subregion effectively, such as that caused by Boko Haram in Nigeria or Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb in Mali. Because previous researchers have shown little interest in ECOWAS's strategies of conflict settlements in region (Aning & Salihu, 2011), I concluded that supplementary study was needed to assist leaders who make policies concerning conflict, peace, security, and social development in the region.

Significance

ECOWAS has played a significant role in managing regional conflict, though managing security remains hectic (Aning, 2009; Arthur, 2010; Obi, 2009). I aimed to assist ECOWAS in managing conflict issues effectively. The study proposes to help regional leaders and policymakers to formulate strategic policies to control insurgency, counterinsurgency, and conflict resolution and prevention in the region. Likewise, the research envisions to provide ECOWAS with strategies to produce positive social change and peaceful coexistence between all peoples in a region, such as conflict-ridden territories in Sierra Leone. Finally, the study projects to contribute to the literature on counterinsurgency and conflict resolution, by detailing the strategic processing tools used to maintain a durable peace in Sierra Leone that were absent from the literature. I explored the actions of ECOWAS, the Sierra Leone government, and the United Nations, as detailed in scholarly resources and primary research.

Theoretical Framework

The conceptual framework for this study derived from literature on counterinsurgency and conflict resolution based on Galula's (1964) work. According to Galula, military power is insufficient for conflict or counterinsurgency resolution. Rather, conflict resolution requires strategic processing tools, such as mediation, political and economic power, peacekeeping, involved citizens, and the government's support (Galula, 2006). This theoretical framework was used to investigate ECOWAS's attempts to control conflict through the processes of counterinsurgency and conflict resolution. This work also guided the research study by providing a framework to understand the strategic processing tools of counterinsurgency and conflict resolution, as further discussed in Chapter 2.

Research Questions

To explore the history of the Sierra Leone conflict and ECOWAS's involvement in the region, I posed the following three research questions:

- RQ1. What were the strategic processing tools ECOWAS employed in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution to sustain durable peace in Sierra Leone?
- RQ2. How did these strategic processing tools sustain durable peace in Sierra Leone?
- RQ3. What elements, including regional issues, influenced the effectiveness of the ECOWAS's engagement in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution in Sierra Leone?

Nature of the Study

I used a qualitative method with an explanatory case study design. This design was the most appropriate for this study because counterinsurgencies were complex phenomena that were intrinsically connected to their context, such as the geopolitics of the country in which these occurred (Coker, 2012; Hughes, 2012). Case studies are useful for studying a phenomenon within its context, while maintaining its complexity (Woodside, 2010; Yin, 2013). Explanatory case studies are utilized when the researcher seeks to explain and describe the causal links between real-life interventions and their outcomes (Yin, 2013). I collected and triangulated different data (e.g., government memorandums, protocols, policy documents, case notes, and NGO resources) on ECOWAS's role in conflict resolution in the region. Archival data regarding the insurgency were collected from libraries in Freetown, Sierra Leone, with a particular focus on the period from 1991 to 2002. Documentary data were coded to derive the prevalent themes therein. This documentary data was then used to triangulate the data derived from the interviews and field notes.

I conducted unstructured interviews with Sierra Leoneans in Sierra Leone and New York City in the United States to collect personal narratives and observational field notes regarding the civil conflict and/or the ECOWAS's interventions in Sierra Leone. The targeted sample for this study was 10 participants from the groups listed above. The interviews occurred in Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone and New York, U.S.A. As required, I traveled to the aforementioned field sites, and utilized telephone and email communication.

Data analysis used both computer and manual strategies. I manually recorded and coded documents, such as interview transcripts, field notes, and non-electronic data documents from the government and ECOWAS for easy classification, retrieval, and information analysis. I then electronically transferred these documents into a digital file for further storage, coding, and data analysis. Electronic forms and documents from libraries and ECOWAS were downloaded to a computer (or portable device) for later analysis. I utilized both digital and non-electronic strategies for data backup, data interpretation, and classification of information accuracy. I used NVivo for data analysis as mandated by the research. The research results derived from product of the coding of the interview and the documentary data. The data were triangulated, which added validity to the data. I intended to disseminate the recommendations to ECOWAS through its members, universities, libraries, and official website. Finally, the study had anticipated to present the recommendations in conferences to propagate the information and send a copy to ECOWAS's headquarters in Abuja, Nigeria.

Assumptions

The following assumptions were made in this study. Participants truthfully answered my questions from their knowledge of the phenomena. The official records and archival data were accurate.

Scope

I explore the role of ECOWAS in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution in Sierra Leone. The subjects in the study comprised of individuals who experienced the civil war in Sierra Leone, including ECOWAS members and representatives, members of

the Sierra Leone public, United Nations officials, and Mano River Union members who witnessed the civil conflict. I targeted around 10 participants, though data collection might end at a smaller number if deemed unnecessary to include a larger sample size due to repetition and consistency in formation (i.e., if saturation was reached). The participants for this study were recruited from Freetown and New York City, all of which housed a large demographic of relevant populations for this study. Archival data and official records on the civil war and ECOWAS's involvement were also studied and used in the triangulation of data.

Delimitations

The following delimitations applied to this study. Participants were aged 30 years and above, from Sierra Leone, who experienced the civil war. Gender was not limited. I focused only on ECOWAS's engagement in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution in Sierra Leone. Only archival data from the Freetown main library and authentic academic resources regarding the ECOWAS's engagement in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution in Sierra Leone were collected.

Limitations

The following limitations applied to this study. As the researcher focuses on the exploration of ECOWAS's role in Sierra Leone only, the results might not be generalizable to other regions without further study due to economic, cultural, social, and political differences between regions. Participation in the study was limited to individuals in Sierra Leone and New York who experienced the civil war. Thus, the perspective of

ECOWAS members directly involved in the counterinsurgency was not included in the study.

Definition of Terms

African Union: The organization previously known as the Organization of African Unity.

Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb: A Muslim militant group in North Africa and Mali.

Boko Haram: A Muslim militant group that wants to enforce Islamic Shari'a or law in northern Nigeria. It has committed heinous crimes against Nigerians indiscriminately. Literally translated, it means "Western education is forbidden or sacrilege."

Conflict resolution (CR): Cooperation among opposing parties striving to improve their situation as well as end conflict in plausible ways that benefit all parties.

Counterinsurgency: Forces who deal with insurgent groups who want to remove a legitimate government through violence, force, or other means.

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS): An organization established on May 28, 1975, in Lagos, Nigeria. As a regional organization, it is restricted to 15 member states: Benin, Burkina-Faso, Cape Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea-Conakry, Liberia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo.

The Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG):

Military forces drawn from ECOWAS member states' armed forces to keep peace in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Guinea Bissau, and Côte d'Ivoire.

The National Patriotic Front of Liberia: A rebel group in Liberia led by Charles Taylor.

Protocol on Mutual Assistance and Defence (PMAD): A 1981 Assistance on Defense Matters conference in Sierra Leone that authorized ECOMOG's intervention in the conflict.

Protocol of Nonaggression: A 1978 protocol to settle resolution disputes between ECOWAS members' intra- and interconflicts.

Revolutionary United Front (RUF): A rebel group led by Foday Sanko that committed crimes against Sierra Leoneans from 1991-2002.

The Status of Forces Agreement: President Kabbah's appeal to ECOWAS Chairman General Abacha of Nigeria for support under the SOFA and other mutual treaties between the two governments.

Sierra Leone (SL): An independent country located in West Africa.

The United Nations Observation Mission to Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL): An intervention created to supervise disarmament, demobilization, and training procedures directly to assure that the new Sierra Leone Army would abide by international humanitarian rules.

Summary

The Sierra Leone civil war inspired by RUF insurgents led to the destruction of the country and caused a humanitarian catastrophe in the subregion. I explore the strategic processing tools used by ECOWAS during counterinsurgency and conflict resolution operations in Sierra Leone using a qualitative explanatory case study method. Ten participants of Sierra Leoneans were interviewed. Archival data were also examined. Undertaking this study contributes to literature on insurgency, counterinsurgency, and conflict resolution. It might also assist in managing conflict issues effectively. Chapter 2 had included a literature review of the concepts relevant to this study, as well as common themes in similar studies.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

In this chapter, I examine and synthesize scholarship regarding the role of ECOWAS in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution in Sierra Leone. The chapter includes a comprehensive review of the theoretical and conceptual frameworks used by counterinsurgency and conflict resolution groups, such as ECOMOG. I also address current problems confronting practitioners and researchers in the field and identify areas requiring further research.

Literature Search Strategy

I retrieved the literature from various online periodical databases, including policy and administration databases such as EBSCOhost, Academic Search Complete, ProQuest Central, and Political Science Complete (Sage). I also searched military and government collections (e.g., ECOWAS/ECOMOG protocols and *U.S. Field Manual 3-24*), the International Security and Counterterrorism Reference Center, dissertation databases (e.g., Academic Search Complete), and the Freetown main library in Sierra Leone. A subject or word search method was employed for such terms as *war*, *peace*, *conflict resolution*, *insurgency*, and *counterinsurgency*.

Theoretical Framework

Galula's (1964) work about insurgency and counterinsurgency attached to the understanding of a revolutionary war. Galula defined revolutionary war as "primarily an internal conflict, although external influences seldom fail to bear upon it" (p. 3).

Insurgency is a civil war where there are national groups challenging the local rule or the existing administration, police, and armed forces.

Galula (1964) discussed several key differences between insurgency and counterinsurgency. First, the two have different objectives. According to Galula, a revolutionary war is a political war because the objective is the population itself where operations are designed to win it over (in the case of insurgents) or to keep it submissive (in the case of counterinsurgents). Second, insurgency is cheap, while counterinsurgency is costly (Galula, 1964). This is mainly because the insurgent group only has the objective to promote disorder, which is very cheap to create. On the other hand, preventing disorder is very costly. For instance, when insurgents burn a farm, farmers will clamor that they did not receive protection. If the farmers are not satisfied with response of the counterinsurgents, then the farmers could make a deal with the insurgent group. Third, insurgents are fluid while counterinsurgents are rigid (Galula, 1964). The insurgents are fluid because they do not have responsibility to prevent disorder and do not have concrete assets such as infrastructures. The counterinsurgents are rigid because they have both responsibility and tangible assets, such as buildings.

There are also prerequisites for a successful insurgency: (a) a cause, (b) weakness of the counterinsurgent, (c) geographic conditions, and (d) outside support (Galula, 1964). Insurgents need an attractive cause in order to recruit members and supporters. With an appropriate and attractive cause, the insurgent is formidable. For the insurgent to plan and implement effective attacks, the insurgent group needs to identify the weaknesses of the counterinsurgent (Galula, 1964; 2006a). Some of the weaknesses

include presence of problems, absence of national consensus, lack of knowledge about counterinsurgent warfare, and weak political structure.

Several factors affect the success of insurgency and counterinsurgency operations. Geography factors can also serve as a weakness for insurgent groups or a strength for counterinsurgent groups. The location of the country is an important factor. A country isolated by natural barriers or countries that oppose insurgency is advantageous to the counterinsurgent. The larger the country, the more difficult it is for the government or counterinsurgents to control insurgency (Galula, 1964). A country, which is easy to compartmentalize, is advantageous to counterinsurgents. International borders also affect the success of insurgency. If neighboring countries support the insurgents, then it is advantageous to the insurgents. If the terrain of the country is rugged and difficult, then it is advantageous to the insurgents. Harsh climates favor counterinsurgent forces. The population also affects revolutionary war. The more people there are in a country, the more difficult it is to control it. The economy of the country can be either an advantage or disadvantage to counterinsurgent forces (Gulula, 1964). The advantage economy tries to address people's basic needs and to stop insurgent propaganda. The disadvantage economy is unable to manage people's needs and to stop insurgency in the country.

Outside support to an insurgent group can take different forms (Galula, 1964). Moral support can be expressed through communications media. Political support can be demonstrated through direct or indirect communication with the counterinsurgent. Technical support includes political and military operations. Financial support can be

overt or covert. Military support can be demonstrated through direct intervention to the insurgent's side.

Galula (1964) also discussed the two periods of revolutionary war from the perspective of the counterinsurgent:

1. The "cold revolutionary war" is when the insurgent's activity remains on the whole legal and nonviolent (Galula, 1964, p. 59).
2. The "hot revolutionary war" is when the insurgent's activity becomes openly illegal and violent. (Galula, 1964, p. 59).

Galula further discussed that the essential problem for counterinsurgent stems from the fact that actual danger will always appear to the country as out of proportion and not adequately addressed. The question remains on how and when counterinsurgent should proceed when dealing with insurgent groups. Galula provided four general courses of action for the counterinsurgent:

1. COIN may act directly on the insurgent leaders (Galula, 1964, p. 60).
2. COIN may act indirectly on the conditions that are propitious to an insurgency (Galula, 1964, p. 60).
3. COIN may infiltrate the insurgent movement and try to make it ineffective (Galula, 1964, p. 60).
4. COIN may build up or reinforce his political machine (Galula, 1964, p. 60).

Galula (1964) also provided laws and principles of counterinsurgency warfare.

The first law is that the population's support is as necessary for the counterinsurgent as it is for the insurgent (Galula, 1964). The second law is that support is gained through

active minority (Galula, 1964). The third law is that support from the population is conditional (Galula, 1964). The fourth law is that intensity of vastness of means and efforts are essential (Galula, 1964). In the next section, I will discuss the concept of conflict.

Conflict

In the germinal book, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice* (Galula, 1964, 2006), French Military Officer and Scholar, Galula (1964), indicated that war is not similar to a game of chess that is bounded and may be analyzed completely; rather, war is a vast social phenomenon that involves an infinite number of variables that may not easily be analyzed. Over the last decade, Galula's works have defined the theory and practice of counterinsurgency and influenced contemporary defense experts and publications including the U.S. Army's Counterinsurgency Manual (2006, 2009). Galula (1964) recognized that war, as it had been known until the modern era, was no longer a readily definable activity, an issue that subsequent scholars would grapple with as well. War would become small wars, to use Kilcullen's (2009, 2010) term, which reflects the fracturing of definable warfare into a series of conflicts.

Conflict, then, is not always war. War, as it has been understood, is an organized structure composed of armies, uniforms, and codes of conduct with a hierarchy that is responsible for making decisions. It also has a chain of command parallel to but separates from the civilian government. Conflict is amorphous and transient, with shifting presumed leaders for mostly unorganized militias that can be difficult to contain. Conflict and resolution are constants in human history, and many believe that conflict is

unavoidable due to human nature and/or the competitive nature of nation states and individuals (Alliez & Negri, 2003; Banks, 1987; Burton, 1972; Hobbes, as cited in Sadler, 2009; Laue, 1987; Sandole, 2009). Conflicts are specific to a region, with each different from another in any number of factors. Conflict can also resemble a civil war or sheer wholesale anarchy. The Sierra Leone conflict involved familial, economic, and political overtones; as a result, West Africa became prone to conflict (Aning & Atuobi, 2011). While both war and conflict are insidious, war requires a context beyond the civil conflict in Sierra Leone.

Byrne and Senehi (2009) argued that conflict was the result of various circumstances. Moreover, conflict occurs within inter-/intrapersonal and/or intergroup or institutional spheres. Conflict has many forms and descriptive classifications. Conflicts usually take place when individuals, organizations, or nations have incompatible objectives. In other words, conflicts start when the interests of two or more parties clash, and at least one of the conflicting parties, searches for its interests at the expense of the opposing party's welfare (Humphreys, 2005). Therefore, conflict is a social phenomenon that often stems from immediate or ongoing transformations that lead to different goals and needs (Deutsch & Coleman, 2000). Thus, the four elements of conflict are the actors, the resource in dispute, the stake that each actor has in the resource, and the stage and length that the conflict has reached (Deutsch & Coleman, 2000; Fisher, 2009).

Burton (1972) described conflict as a means for changing several essential components of society, such as welfare, security, justice, and opportunities for social development. Burton noted that suppressing war can cause societies to become static. The

author also noted that international conflicts are, in effect, an extended form of internal conflict. For example, the first Liberian civil war drew adjacent states into the conflict, including Sierra Leone, Guinea-Conakry, Guinea-Bissau, and Côte d'Ivoire. For example, according to Doucey (2011) and Burton (1990a, 1990b), conflict occurs when authorities, institutions, organizations, individuals, or communities fail in meeting the needs and common concerns of their people. Kelman (2009) added that a society's shared needs and fears were far more influential in any given conflict than the national interests of those involved.

In 2010, the Uppsala Conflict Data Program only recorded 30 active armed conflicts. They defined armed conflict as conflict with a minimum of 25 battle-related deaths. According to the report, this reduction is substantial compared to the 36 conflicts recorded for 2009, because this type of drop in magnitude has only been recorded four times since the post-1946 period and is the lowest since 2010. An important part of this trend is the reduction of conflicts in Africa. Moreover, this trend is within a greater decline in the number of conflicts since the end of the Cold War (Kriesberg, 2015; Themner & Wallenstein, 2011).

Conflict Resolution

The theoretical concept of conflict resolution involves the use of cooperation, collaboration, or coordination (the three Cs) among two or more opposing parties/enemies striving to improve their situation as well as end conflict in plausible ways that benefit all parties (Byrne & Senehi, 2009; Fisher, 2009). Parties in the conflict are permitted by third parties, such as ECOWAS, to participate fully in the resolution

process to resolve their grievances. Conflict resolution aims to avoid zero-sum game, where the gain of one group is the loss of the other. This issue was the situation in Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Côte d'Ivoire; as such, when insurgents in these nations resumed conflicts, ECOWAS was forced to reengage in new conflict resolution processes in the region (Bercovitch & Jackson, 2009; Oksamytna, 2013).

Burton (1972) determined three imperative elements to distinguish between conflict settlement and conflict resolution: “the degree of third-party coercive intervention, the degree of participation by the conflicting parties, and the degree of communication between the parties” (p. 150). According to the author, many strategic processing tools can be used to address conflicts, including judicial settlement, arbitration, conciliation, mediation, and negotiation. Burton (1972) maintained that the negotiation is more advantageous than the other tools because its results are not obligatory for any conflicting party. The parties can also conduct face-to-face discussion, augment communication, and decrease external involvement or compulsion in the resulting negotiation settlement (Byrne & Senehi, 2009; Fisher, 2009).

Burton (1990) noted four common needs that serve as strategic tools to reach productive outcomes for any conflict resolution settlement: (a) security needs (e.g., stability and safety), (b) identity needs (the recognition of one's own specific identity and acceptance of others), (c) family and community needs (e.g., housing, education, healthcare, justice, and equality), and (d) personal needs (e.g., development and achievement of one's potential in society). According to Burton (1990), the failure to meet these stated needs will result in conflict. Cook-Huffman (2009) added that conflict

results from the sense that one's identity was in danger, which led to the feeling that one must fight to survive.

Burton (1990) and Fisher (2009) maintained that conflict resolution relied on the formulation of decisions that made the need for force unnecessary when addressing the roots of a conflict and settled these in ways acceptable to all relevant parties. This study affirms that conflict resolution must be based on pragmatic and practical proofs to assist conflicting parties in identifying essential human needs and arriving at a resolution. However, there may be reasonable questions as to these choices, and a realistic analysis of the means may be necessary to guarantee the satisfaction of various groups. Rummel (1981) attested the aim of conflict resolution was to curtail conflict and avoid unintended and negative results of the resolution. Rummel (1981) also argued for the importance of predicting, planning, and compromising for conflict. Successful negotiation involves the ability and willingness of all factions to arrive at a collective position of reciprocal exchange, a solution where everyone benefits. Doucey (2011) and Sandole, Byrne, Sandole-Staroste, and Senehi (2009) asserted that the current practice of conflict resolution faced several challenges, requiring new comprehensive and holistic methods to manage both external and internal conflict issues. Burton (1990) and Doucey (2011) argued that sustainable peace could not be achieved if the primary needs of people were absent and/or excluded from the process.

War

Several authors have attempted to determine the causes of war, which may not always be a single source (Cashman, 2013; Dafoe, Renshon, & Huth, 2014; W. R.

Thompson & Levy, 2011; & Levy, 2010). W. R. Thompson and Levy (2010) presented an exhaustive account on the theories that determined the causes of conflict, in terms of war in particular. According to the authors, most studies regarding the causes of war stem from realist theories, a school of thought that dates back to Thucydides's discussion of the Peloponnesian War and further shaped by philosophers and social theorists such as Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Rousseau. Realist theories have several schools of thought but are brought together by several common themes.

Realist Theory

First, in realist theory, sovereign states are considered the key actors in world politics. These sovereign states act rationally to improve their security, power, and wealth in an international system that is governed by anarchy (Rana, 2015; W. R. Thompson & Levy, 2010). The international system is anarchic, because no legitimate governmental authority is capable of mediating disputes and enforcing agreements between these sovereign state actors. This anarchy, and the resulting uncertainty regarding the intentions of other sovereign states, produces insecurity and competition for power. Thus, according to the proponents of realist theory, conflict is inherent to the international system as a result of insecurity, conflicts of interest, and international rivalries (Cashman, 2013; W. R. Thompson & Levy, 2010). Conflict can be avoided by the distribution of power throughout this international system.

Two paths towards war. Within this theory, are two main paths to war. The first, according to the authors, is when two states have direct conflicts of interest and one or both decide to achieve their interests through the use of force. The second path to war is

when a state prefers to maintain the status quo. This war is primarily aimed at fulfilling a goal of security, and such wars are called inadvertent wars because neither nation wants or expects the conflict to occur at the onset. This second path to war is the result of uncertainty. The more power that one state accrues, the higher the chance that another attempts to account for the resulting uncertainty through force.

The spiral and deterrence models. This second path is crucial to the spiral model, which states that prefer peace to war are brought to war because they want to preserve the status quo. Examples of this phenomenon can be seen in World War I and the Arab-Israeli War of 1967 (W. R. Thompson & Levy, 2010). In contrast, the deterrence model is used to indicate that wars can occur when deterrence fails as a result of a lack of credibility or lack of military power. Thus, for adherents of the deterrence mode, the only method for maintaining peace is ensuring that all actors are sufficiently prepared for war. Unlike the spiral model, the war in the deterrence model is the result of lacking activity (that adequately deters aggression from other states), rather than a response to an action that threatens the status quo.

Reputation and status. Reputation has also been seen as an important motivating status for war (Dafoe, Renshon, & Huth, 2014). According to Dafoe et al. (2014), reputation is beginning to become accepted as a reasonable motive for war. The researchers defined reputation as the perceived status of a group or nation with respect to the facets of wealth and power, and noted that prestige and status have strategic significance, such as in deterrence, when reputation can play a part in how one state determines the invention of the other (Dafoe et al., 2014; W. R. Thompson & Levy,

2010). The authors also made a case for reconciling cognitive and strategic approaches, such that international relation literature also consider insights from psychological, cultural, and other frameworks. Such consideration recognizes that state actors are not entirely rational and give insight to their thought process when considering their actions within the international stage.

Constructivism. The constructivist theory of war is a relatively new theory used in international relations studies. This theory is related to the constructivist theories in the social sciences, which are inductive-relativist theories in reaction to the empirical-positivist theories that came before (Stam, 2010). It emphasizes ideational and cultural factors when examining states and their actions (Cashman, 2013; Dafoe et al., 2014). According to constructivist theory, international politics are socially constructed, which is an extension of the belief that reality as a whole is composed of constructs. As such, the creation of identities and norms are important mechanisms in the international relations process, and both significantly affect the behavior of states (Cashman, 2013). The most important difference between constructivist theory and other prevailing theories is that appropriateness is considered more important than consequences. Thus, the context in which events occur is thoroughly considered, and it is within such contexts that decisions are evaluated.

Moreover, for constructivists, the anarchy that characterizes the international community for the realists are replaced with different structures, as a result of treaties, rules, norms, and institutions. These structures allow more agencies on the part of actors, because these structures are mutually-constructed. The actors all participate in creating

such structures, which are ordered, unlike the world ruled by anarchy that is prevalent in realist theories. Specifically, constructivists note that the concept of anarchy is itself context-dependent and there is no reason that two states in an archaic system should regard each other with the distrust omnipresent in realist theories (Cashman, 2013).

According to Cashman (2013), any mutual distrust or animosity must be the result of identity or context that results in such in constructivist theory. Thus, structure and context are the most important considerations when examining international relations through the constructivist theory.

Types of Wars

Various authors have attempted to describe types of warfare and to describe the different types of warfare that have occurred throughout history (Colarik & Janczewski, 2012; Passman, 2015). For example, an emerging type of warfare is cyber warfare, which takes advantage of technological advances that involve the acquisition, dissemination, and utilization of information (Colarik & Janczewski, 2012; Nguyen, 2013; Shin, Cheon, & Eom, 2014; Wiley & Coyle, 2013). A cyber-attack is when computers or computer networks are used in the capacity of weapons (Nguyen, 2013; Shin et al., 2014). The most common forms of these attacks are penetration attacks, in which vulnerabilities in a computer system are used to access resources or implant malicious software, and denial-of-service attacks, which diminish the functionality of the computer system, usually until it cannot be used (Nguyen, 2013). Nguyen (2013) also showed that cyber warfare presents different types of challenges because of its difference from more traditional types of offense. For example, cyber attacks are from a remote origin, such and thus do

not involve the possibility of harm for the attacker. Moreover, unlike traditional attacks, the effects of cyber attacks are reversible, because data can be restored or fixed, given certain situations.

In another study, Passman (2015) attempted to explain his fractal concept of war. The author advanced the mathematics used for combat simulation and predictive models through the uses of fractal mathematics. Prior to this development, military operational research used Lanchester equations, which describe Industrial Age warfare and were developed during the First World War, rather than the more prevalent and current Information Age warfare. Information Age warfare usually includes dynamically-evolving scenarios with local force clustering and re-clustering. This fractal concept of war is important to this literature review, because it is a model of how war is understood in a practical setting, especially for high-level simulations that are used by the military for actual decisions. The fractal model of war is, therefore; a type of war that is intimately tied not only to the sociological study of war but also to the praxis of war, which is an important domain to consider. The limitations of the previously-dominant Lanchester model are also limitations levied against a grounded framework of war. The limitations are the following:

1. Constant attrition rate coefficients;
2. No force movement in space;
3. Homogeneous forces;
4. Battle termination not described;
5. Deterministic as opposed to stochastic;

6. Not verified against historical data;
7. Cannot predict attrition rate coefficients;
8. Tactical decisions processes are not modeled;
9. Battlefield intelligence not considered;
10. Command and control not considered. (Passman, 2015, pp. 151-152)

In contrast, fractal war equations can be used to analyze large amounts of historical analysis that can contribute to war simulations, represent the dynamic between attrition and maneuver warfare, as well as produce a unified field theory for combat. Passman (2015) proceeded to show several applications of fractal mathematical concepts, such as fractals, self-organization, self-similarity, and scale-free systems, to explain that it is possible to use this branch of mathematics to examine, model, and predict combat processes.

Insurgency

Insurgency is an ideological and sociological problem that has been and remains an unwelcome phenomenon in the human endeavor. It often stems from legitimate complaints of injustice against governmental authorities. Insurgency is often preceded by other forms of action, such as *rebellion* and *resistance* (Galula, 1964; Kilcullen, 2010; Petraeus, Amos, & McClure, 2009). Marks (2005) argued that both rebellion and resistance were events that would lead to the formation of an insurgency and could be assimilated into an armed political apparatus. Marks maintained that contemporary insurgencies were no longer parochial to an individual state but were transforming into transnational insurgencies that could subvert regional security and peace. Besides,

Cromartie (2012) observed that the prolonged nature of insurgency differentiated it from a revolution or a coup. Insurgency relies on violence. It also involves waiting for the best time to use violence to its advantage. Insurgency thus uses a strategic doctrine of offense, defense, and devolution to reach its goal.

Since Galula's work on counterinsurgency warfare and pacification in Algeria in the 1950s and 1960s, field manuals have become the most current and informative source for scholars in this field (Kilcullen, 2010; Petraeus, Amos, & McClure, 2009). The Army field manual is a credible source because top U.S. military experts, scholars, and practitioners in the field collaborated to produce *The U.S. Army Counterinsurgency Field Manual*. For example, General David Petraeus (PhD-Princeton) and the team have several scholars with doctorates in history, political science, and anthropology. The manual had reviewed many scholarly works of literature in the study of insurgency and counterinsurgency. The most notable sources were the works of Galula, R. Thompson (1966), T. E. Lawrence, and Mao Zedong. The manual had influenced scholars in this field to do further researches in examining the relevance of the FM in the current surge of insurgency around the globe. Moreover, it has also been published as a book, which is considered a primary source in counterinsurgency. The University of Chicago Press also published the field manual, which means that the university supports the information in the manual.

The U.S. Army's *Field Manual 3-24* (2006) defined insurgency as:

An organized movement aimed at the overthrow of a constituted government through the use of subversion and armed conflict. [It can also be] an organized,

protracted politico-military struggle designed to weaken the control and legitimacy of an established government, occupying power, or other political authority while increasing insurgent control. (p. 1)

This definition has been widely adopted in subsequent publications (Kilcullen, 2010; Marks, 2005; Nagl, 2002; Sewall, 2007; Snyder, 2011). Galula (1964) further asserted that an insurgency was gradual and extensive effort conducted to remove an existing authority by any means necessary. The author stated that insurgency was local by nature; therefore, solving it required local solutions (Cromartie, 2012; Galula, 2006). Galula (2006) further noted that conflicts were too complex to forecast precisely when and where an insurgency would erupt.

An insurgency has numerous triggers, including fighting for independence, religious and ethnic conflict, and uprisings against foreign military presence within a conflict (Kilcullen, 2009; Petraeus et al., 2009). Insurgents will opportunistically or legitimately exploit a people's grievances against their government, for example, the failure to provide basic needs, corruption, or the breach of individual rights. For reasons unique to their conflict, insurgents often argue that their needs are unsolvable by the state, even through peaceful resolution (Mattis, 2006). Insurgents hope to ignite a general desire for defiance to achieve their political objectives. However, insurgent movements can only prosper when most of the populace supports or is neutral concerning the motives, philosophy, and practice of the group (Galula, 1964; Kilcullen, 2010).

There are several prerequisites common to successful insurgencies. First, there must be a susceptible population hardened with grievances against the authorities, which

insurgents exploit to rise against the legitimate regime (Zimmerman, 2007). Second, there must be available leadership and guidance (Kilcullen, 2009; Petraeus & Amos, 2006).

This leadership will position itself as the best alternative to the existing regime by providing resources temporarily to address the citizens' needs. Third, governmental authorities must demonstrate incompetence and/or have weak control of the state (Galula 1964, 2006; Kilcullen, 2010; Zimmerman, 2007), and incapable of attending to the essential needs of its populace.

The Process of Insurgency

There are five primary phases in an insurgent movement (Petraeus et al., 2009; Sewall et al., 2007). First, a leader is charismatic, able to plan, and appeals to the masses. The leader must have the aptitude to disseminate the philosophical ideology of the insurgency to its target and the population at large, and guide guerrilla activities. Second, guerrilla activity occurs. The insurgents use a range of weapons to conduct their fight, which soon involves the community. Insurgent tactics utilize time, space, and determination. Insurgents often appear to pull back to deceive counterinsurgency forces, and regularly acknowledge short-term defeat to achieve their long-term objectives (Austin, 2009; Marks, 2005). Third, an active underground movement develops in support of the insurgency. The underground supporters use ideological propaganda and sabotage to eliminate or subvert their governmental opponents. Other resources they supply to support the insurrection include intelligence, arms, mobility, and safe zones. Fourth, auxiliary support is provided to ensure safe passage and/or refuge for the insurgents. They also supply weapons, information, false documents, and financial aid

(both legal and illegal) to bolster the uprising. Last, a mass base support develops from a sympathetic community and government (Galula, 1964; Marks, 2005; R. Thompson, 1966).

The last two phases include both external and internal supports, and may involve ethical, economic, political, and sanctuary assistance from foreign states, organizations, and individuals. To garner individual support, insurgencies often instill psychological fear through intimidation, provocation, and force into the populace's minds and hearts in order to gain support, supplies, and forceful recruitment (Galula, 2006; Kilcullen, 2009; Mattis, 2006). Insurgents also use religious and nationalist propaganda to generate support.

Additional factors in this process are the ideological narrative, which must present a vision of a constructive socioeconomic/sociopolitical sphere, and other environmental/geographic issues (e.g., religion, culture, tribal affiliation, terrain, and weather; Kilcullen, 2009; Petraeus et al., 2009). Marks (2005) and Petraeus and Amos (2006) noted that phasing and timing were the final general activities of an insurgency. These activities are divided into three strategies: (a) defensive (wearing down an opponent while creating support for an uprising), (b) stalemate (obvert guerrilla warfare as the insurgent group moves become stable), and (c) counteroffensive (where the insurrection is stronger and more organized than at the start of the revolt). Here, insurgent forces transition from guerrilla to conventional warfare to eliminate government forces. Mao Tse-tung (1938, 2007) called these phases a protracted popular war. Insurgency does, however, possess weaknesses; these including the need for secrecy, discrepancies in

the sequence of events, the need to create base camps, dependence on outside support, the need for financial funds, internal separation and task organization, and informants within the insurrection (Austin, 2009).

Counterinsurgency

Counterinsurgency occurs in response to the recognized events of the conflict, dispute, or insurgency (Galula, 1964). Such response includes the use of strategies including diplomacy, peace treaties, or targeted conflict resolution, which aim to end an insurgency. Where insurgency aims to create conflict, it should be understood that counterinsurgency seeks to establish peace between conflicting parties.

Counterinsurgency measures often refer to military and political actions by a government or an international organization to resolve conflict, but may also involve economic, psychological, and civic actions towards resolution (Petraeus & Amos, 2006).

Roxborough (2007) added that counterinsurgency was the task of suppressing revolution and civil war. He noted that military thinkers throughout the 20th century developed methods for defeating insurgents, which was the primary aim of counterinsurgency theory (Roxborough, 2007, p. 15). Counterinsurgency actions use every available apparatus of a national capability to maintain the legitimate government and decrease the chances for a further crisis (Galula, 1963, 2006). Kilcullen (2009) further summarized counterinsurgency as the competition to win the favor of the population. According to the author, local politics, civic action, and beat-cop behaviors are more beneficial to the process of counterinsurgency compared with force, even if counterinsurgents usually

have more firepower than insurgents. Moreover, Kilcullen (2009) emphasized the need to make the population feel secure despite negative insurgent influence (p. 1).

Kelman's (2009) views coincided with Kilcullen (2009) in that current counterinsurgency was closer to the population-centric model of the 1950s, which focused on protecting and influencing the population and, in attempting to control the social aspect of the insurgency, resolve it. Kilcullen (2009, 2010) argued that counterinsurgency strategies varied, and no standard set of practices existed because each area of operation differed from another. However, Austin (2009) suggested that to be successful, the populace must abide by the laws of the authority, and the government must eradicate insurgents and address the grievances of the people, while leaving no openings for insurgents to use in recruitment and propaganda. Additionally, the government must provide security, responsive social services, a stable infrastructure, and sociopolitical and economic development (Galula, 1964; R. Thompson, 1966). Equally important, counterinsurgency strategies must build strong police and military force to secure public trust and confidence. Both the military and civilians must work together to win the conflict against an insurgency (Galula, 2006).

Counterinsurgency has common elements, such as legitimacy, popular support, intelligence operations, insurgents' isolation, security, and long-term commitment to rebuilding the host nation. The following discussion explores each of these elements as strategic processing tools.

Legitimacy

Legitimacy is the lawful rule of the government through a free political process. In other words, a legitimate regime is determined as such by the assent or popular support of the population. A government is considered unlawful if it uses coercion and insurgency (Austin, 2009). Galula (1964) and Kilcullen (2010) asserted that legitimacy was created by strong, just leaders who provided security, personal development, and political opportunity, and eradicate corruption. Legitimacy allows authorities to perform their duties easily, as well as manage the populace's interactions and resources and act legally on their behalf (Coker, 2012). Ultimately, counterinsurgency is supposed to help establish an effective, legitimate government that can address the needs of the masses.

Public Support

Gaining the support and consent of the people and encouraging public participation are vital elements for counterinsurgency success (Galula, 2006; Hack, 2009; R. Thompson, 1966; Tse-tung, 1938). Legitimate governments must also exhibit willpower to convince the people that socioeconomic conditions are improving (Austin, 2009; Galula, 2006; R. Thompson, 1966). Law and order are additionally essential to a government's legitimacy to garner support from the public and purge insurgents (Austin, 2009; Galula, 1964; Kilcullen, 2010). When a government enters a social contract with the people, they must also exercise the rule of law to increase its legitimacy, order, and support (Patapan & Sikkenga, 2008; Sadler, 2009). Otherwise, this government will lose respect and support from its citizens, and will subsequently fail to fulfill its responsibility to the populace as an institution (R. Thompson, 1966).

Intelligence Operations

Intelligence operations refer to actions made by the government to collect information on insurgents' activities and their supporters. Counterinsurgency must have dependable measures for obtaining reliable intelligence if it is to be successful (Galula, 2006; Hughes, 2012; Petraeus & Amos, 2006). This intelligence reveals the movement of the insurgents and the populace, as well as their trade dealings, connections, associations, and ethnic and tribal grievances (Austin, 2009; Blanken & Overbaugh, 2012; Kilcullen, 2010). Such information is vital for obtaining and retaining a clear understanding of the conditions within the community. Intelligence can be obtained via four major routes: (a) reconnaissance, (b) surveillance, (c) human source intelligence, and (d) signals intelligence (Blanken & Overbaugh, 2012). Other tools critical to intelligence operations include open source intelligence, imagery intelligence, technical intelligence, geospatial intelligence, and measurement and signatures intelligence (Austin, 2009).

Insurgents' Isolation

According to Galula (1964), Kilcullen (2010), and Friedman (2011), insurgents could only be isolated if they are completely destroyed. Isolation must mean that they are physically and psychologically isolated from the population. This process occurs by gaining support, addressing needs, and building trust with the populace. The government must show that it is capable of victory and is the best available institution for addressing issues of public safety and concern (Galula, 1964; Petraeus & Amos, 2006; R. Thompson, 1966). Equally, counterinsurgency forces must destroy the forces and political structures of insurgents, as well as links with society.

Security

Without security, the elements mentioned above would be useless. Lack of security may lead to the populace being threatened by violence; insurgents may also provide welfare programs that win them support or undermine the legitimacy of the government (Hills, 2012). Consequently, a successful counterinsurgency operation must always involve an element of providing security (Kilcullen, 2010; Galula, 1963, 1964). Additionally, an insecure environment will bolster insurgents' claims, spread chaos, and hinder reforms (Berdal & Ucko, 2015). Local law enforcement forces, and court systems must work together to provide security and criminalize insurgent activities.

Long-Term Commitment to Rebuilding

Counterinsurgency operations must demonstrate a long-term commitment to rebuilding and maintaining law and order and the overall security of the nation (McLeod, 2015). Participants of counterinsurgency must be prepared for a protracted fight against insurgents. Galula (2006) argued that counterinsurgency forces must be consistently and continually visible to reduce physical threats, insecurity, and vulnerability in the community from insurgent militias. Likewise, counterinsurgency missions require a constant and substantial amount of resources (Galula, 1964; Kilcullen, 2010).

Counterinsurgency Strategic Processing Tools

Counterinsurgency strategic processing tools include all of the common elements of counterinsurgency as stated above, with the addition of the following three elements: the use of kinetic force, the use of non-kinetic force, and conflict resolution.

Kinetic Force

The use of kinetic force refers to the exercise of a power to end inter- or intra-conflict among conflicting parties, and has been supported by scholars including Levy (1998), Machiavelli (as cited in Lynch, 2012), Morgenthau (1948), and Waltz (1959). According to Petraeus and Amos (2006) and Kilcullen (2010), using kinetic force aims to eliminate insurgents' networks, potential supports, and cells. Galula (1963, 1964), however, argued that the counterinsurgency forces should only use kinetic force 20 percent of the time to establish security, and should use nonkinetic force the remaining 80 percent of the time to win popular support. Galula (1963, 1964) warned that using kinetic force could lead to failure. Insurgents may then exploit these mistakes to make them appear as the saviors of the people. A population-centric approach wins people's hearts and minds, loyalty, trust, and support against insurgents in the conflict and should be one of the main strategic tools of counterinsurgency (Mantas, 2013).

An ineffective but common mistake in the use of kinetic force in counterinsurgency is the use of battalion numbers in operations against what appear to be only a few visible insurgents; this force is out of proportion with the targeted population. For example, military forces often inhabit large and fortified bases for protection rather than arrange for units to remain in local communities and protect the population (Galula, 1964). Further unsuccessful strategies involve the use of allied forces, such as the Special Forces or ECOMOG. These groups focus on raiding houses and forgo creating relationships with the population.

Nonkinetic Force

The use of nonkinetic force can be traced back to Sun Tzu, who said, “If you know the enemy and know yourself, your victory will not stand in doubt. If you know Heaven and know Earth, you may make your victory complete” (Galvin & Giles, 2003, p. 53). In addition, Clausewitz (1984) noted that any operation of war is a complement of planning, coordination, cooperation, and implementation in the fighting engagement against the enemy. These fighting engagements are divided into tactics and strategies to win the battle against opponents (Howard, Paret, & Brodie, 1984). Non-kinetic force also refers to the exercise of soft power. Soft power can manifest in the form of engaging, providing, and addressing the needs of the people to garner support against insurrection. This is also known as an idealist or liberalist (as opposed to a realist) position (Beck, 2006; Easton, 1989; Frederick, 2012).

Galula (1964; 2006) specified eight strategic processing tools that use non-kinetic force for conflict resolution:

1. At the initial phase of contact in a hostile place, satisfactory counterinsurgency forces must secure a perimeter or an area of operation to address the insurgency and eliminate any armed groups of insurgents;
2. Adequate counterinsurgency forces should be relocated in the specified location to manage the reemergence of any insurgents and protect the populace and legitimate political groups. These forces can also maintain contact and participate in public activities;

3. The populace and the counterinsurgent forces should constantly communicate. Moreover, the forces should control the activities of the populace to cut off contact between the populace and the insurgents, while allowing people to partake in civic activities (e.g., local politics and infrastructure);
4. Insurgents' political operatives should be eliminated and suspected individuals with links to insurgent cells should be detained. Doing so will support the effort of identifying the influential leaders, while maintaining a degree of transparency and safety to/for the public;
5. Free and fair local provisional elections should be conducted. Later, a national election for political participation and representation should be set up;
6. The abilities of elected officials should be tested with different governmental and tangible assignments. Incompetent officials should be replaced, and successful officials should be rewarded with assistance for further development;
7. Leaders should be educated. They must also be assembled into a national group. Moreover, political regulatory structures should be created to deal with remaining insurgents; and
8. The hearts and minds of the population should be won as a means to exclude insurgents from a given community.

These strategies are vital tools that host nations and counterinsurgency forces must utilize to defeat insurgent activities. The applicability of these strategies may differ from one

place to another depending on the environment, terrain, people, culture, resources, and willingness of authorities to execute them.

Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution entails a variety of activities/elements, including good administration, diplomacy, mediation, negotiation, gaining the favor of the populace, peacekeeping, and governmental and local peoples' participation in counterinsurgency operations. Conflict resolution calls on all parties, from the grassroots to national levels, to work through negotiation to reach reasonable resolutions that are acceptable by all conflicting parties. This approach does not use arbitrary or court results to impose a particular course of action. According to Burton (1990) and Fisher (2009), conflict resolution requires making decisions that avoid the use of coercion or outside intimidation to get to the source of the problem. As such, conflict resolution requires the use of neutral third parties, such as professional negotiators, peacekeepers, and peace-building forces, who convey a unified message to conflicting parties (Burton, 1990; Fisher, 2009).

Conflict resolution has been supported by idealists such as President Wilson, who believed in diplomacy, mediation, and negotiation (Bullington, 2008; Throntveit, 2011). It has also been supported by socialists like Marx (as cited in Carver, 2009; S. J. Davies, 2013; Glenn, 2012), who believed that resolution is achieved through equality during negotiations, the abolition of class, and external pressure (Burris, 1999; Carver, 2009; S. J. Davies, 2013; Glenn, 2012). Contrarily, realists, such as Machiavelli and Morgenthau, argued for the use of power, coercion, and pressure (Kapust, 2010; Lynch, 2012). This

illustrates the many perspectives in international relations and politics working to address the issue of conflict.

Conflict Resolution, ECOWAS, and Sierra Leone

In the revised treaty of the July 24, 1993 summit, ECOWAS was mandated to employ conflict resolution strategies to maintain security and peace in the region (Nwauche, 2011). Article 58(2)(t) of the treaty called upon members to create a regional peace and security observation mechanism, and peacekeeping forces where suitable, to interfere in conflicts posed a danger to regional stability, such as in Sierra Leone (Dumbuya, 2008). ECOWAS primarily utilized the 1978 Protocol of Non-aggression to solve member states' inter- and intra-conflicts. After the Conakry and Abuja summits in 1997, ECOWAS decided to send peacekeeping forces into Sierra Leone as part of the counterinsurgency strategy of conflict resolution. As a result of failed mediation between insurgent groups, ECOMOG was mandated to restore the president to power, restore peace and security, and integrate internal refugee in the nation. The United Nations approved Chapter VIII of its provision to support bloc involvement in Sierra Leone in 1998. In 1999, ECOWAS further approved a protocol to address conflict resolution, management, peacekeeping, and prevention as strategic processing tools for counterinsurgency to uphold security, peace, and stability in the subregion (Bamfo, 2013; Iwiladel & Agbo, 2012). ECOWAS used conflict resolution strategies including diplomacy, mediation, negotiation, power, and peacekeeping to isolate RUF insurgency. Popular support endorsed ECOWAS counterinsurgency forces (i.e., ECOMOG) against the RUF, though some disagreed with how the forces dealt with the population.

ECOMOG was hindered by internal disagreements among member countries (i.e., the Anglophone/Francophone problem), late international support, and poor coordination and weak forces. However, the legitimate government of Sierra Leone, the African Union, the United Nations, the United Kingdom, the United States, and various NGOs collaboration with ECOMOG and local forces assisted in defeating the insurgency in 2002 (Bamfo, 2013; Davies, 2010). Additionally, the population's participation in elections, reconciliation, disarmament, demobilization, reintegrating combatants (e.g., the DDR program) and training the new Sierra Leonean armed forces was vital to success. Ultimately, ECOWAS invited Sierra Leone and the RUF to negotiate a peace treaty in Lome, Togo in 1999. The Lome Peace Accord made RUF leader Foday Sankoh vice president and allowed him to control the nation's diamond mines in return for stopping the conflict and deploying the United Nations' peacekeeping forces to monitor the process of disarmament (Davies, 2010). However, the RUF inconsistently enforced the peace accord and disarmament processes, and continued attacks on government positions. The Guinean and British forces defeated the rebels, and President Kabbah declared that the civil conflict had ended (Davies, 2010).

Figure 1 explains some of the strategies of counterinsurgency and conflict resolution that can be used to defeat the insurgency. Host nations must win the support of the central periphery (i.e., the populace), external support (i.e., allies), and insurgent support (i.e., passive and active sympathizers of the insurrection). Conflict resolution uses the strategy of negotiation to invite all conflicting parties to a discussion without pressure or enforcement of the agreement. Additionally, it encourages all parties to

participate voluntarily in negotiation to advance their interests through open dialogue with opponents to reach amicable solutions to fix their differences (Burton, 1972; Byrne & Senehi, 2009).

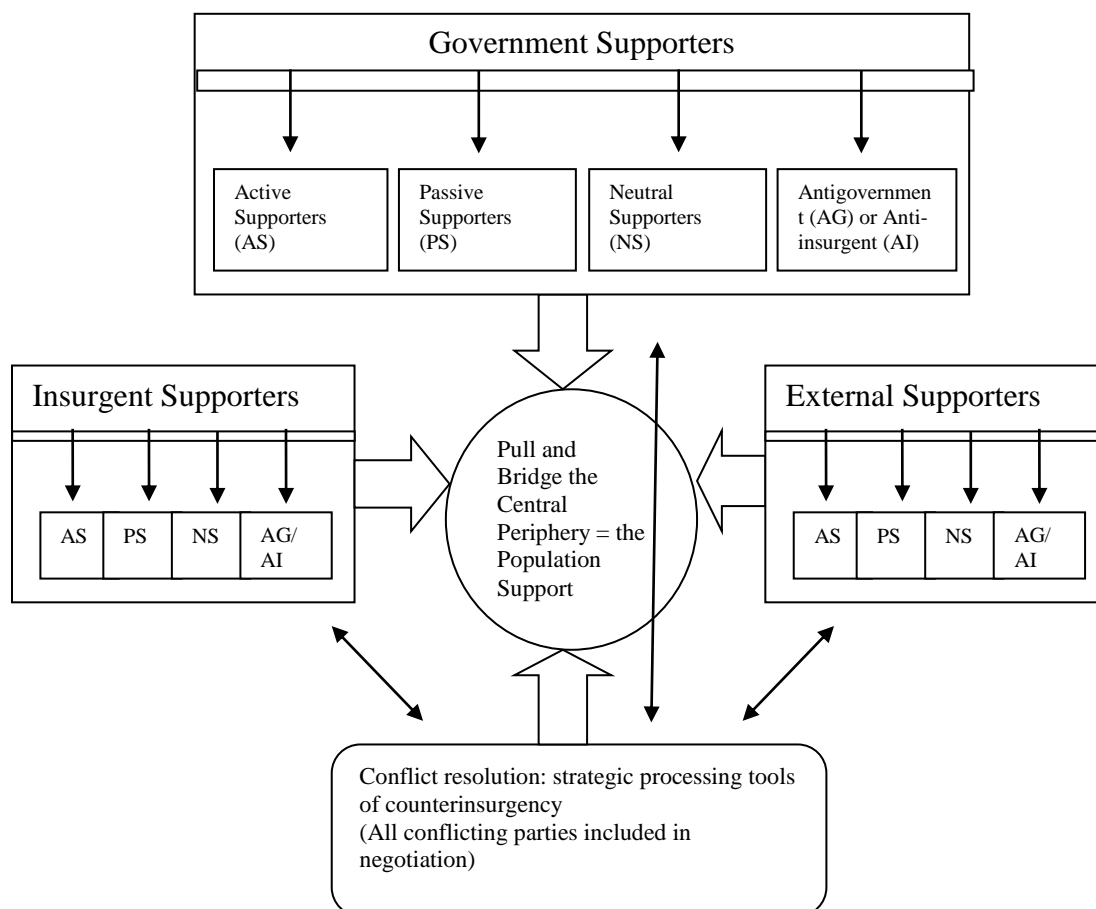


Figure 1. Level of popular support for counterinsurgency strategic processing tools used in conflict resolution. Explanation of Figure 1 is as follows: “AS: Deter, force, or persuade active support via the population. Additionally, deny access to contact, and basic needs. In the case of the government it should avoid damage against the public. PS: Dissuade, provide security, basic needs, commitment, respect, credibility, and maintain legitimacy and ethic. NS: Persuade, provide security, basic needs, commitments, respect, build-relations, professionalism, and legitimacy. Anti-insurgency: provide assurances, resources, trainings, strong bond, trust, respect, security, finance, and work with HN and NGOs. Anti-government: deter and deny insurgents access to all resources. Use diplomacy and negotiation to win popular support. Additionally, use force as necessary without inflicting damage on the populace. Use persuasions to explain actions taken against insurgents. CR SPTs of COIN might be the bridge that links the government and

COIN forces to the central periphery of the popular support. Additionally, CR links and allows all CPs without inclusion to fully participate in the face to face negotiation process to reach an outcome of win-win situation that is acceptable to all CPs with coercion. Additionally, CR SPTs of COIN allow the periphery (locals) to participate in the political processes to defeat and persuade the insurgents and help establish legitimate government and security.”

Case Study

Case study research (CSR) is the study of a complex phenomenon (Ketokivi & Choi, 2014; Thomas, 2011; Woodside, 2010; Yin, 2013). An oft-cited definition comes from Yin (2003), according to whom a case study is “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (p. 13). Rather than focusing on the setting or context of the phenomenon under study, Woodside (2010) defined case study research according to the processes that were required of the researcher—specifically, describing, understanding, and predicting the phenomenon. Woodside’s definition of CSR is not limited to the phenomenon or real-life contexts. Rather, the most important and defining characteristic of CSR is the examination of the individual case. CSR is undertaken whenever the researcher wants to focus on context, and in doing so hope to shed light on the object being studied (Woodside, 2010; Yin, 2013). Thomas (2011) defined the two essential elements of CSR as (a) the practical, historical unity called the subject; and (b) the analytical or theoretical frame, called the object. Subjects can either be a local case of knowledge, a key case, or an outlier case. The object is the analytical frame that is used to view the case.

Ketokivi and Choi (2014) noted the new popularity of CSR and attempted to determine its merits as a scientific method. The authors noted that CSR is usually not

seen as a sufficiently rigorous approach compared to other strictly quantitative or mathematical methods primarily in terms of three aspects: generality, transparency, and cognition. First, the authors noted that case studies, in fact, exhibited the same core categories, especially when these properly considered implicit conceptual and theoretical dispositions. The authors acknowledged that case studies frequently failed to do this. Concerning transparency, the authors noted that objectivity is striven for in research because it is never actionable. Finally, they noted that CSR was sometimes susceptible to self-fulfilling prophecies if it was not properly formed. However, the authors noted that good research required tension between theory and empirical analysis, such that there was an opportunity to be surprised by the data, therefore; I did not see only what they wanted or expected to see.

Overall, the case study method remains useful for understanding the phenomenon and their contexts. Although this method has been regarded as lesser than other methods (Thomas, 2011; Yin, 2013), it is now rigorously defended as an important and effective method of systematic inquiry (Ketokivi & Choi, 2014; Thomas, 2011; Woodside, 2010).

Summary

No specific method fits all insurgency or conflict predicaments. However, there were special processing tools, such as conflict resolution, that could be used in most conflicts. This chapter explored the concepts of conflict, conflict resolution, insurgency, and counterinsurgency, as well as common elements counterinsurgency strategic processing tools. ECOWAS's role in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution in Sierra Leone was then discussed. The literature to date on conflict resolution and

counterinsurgency was largely narrative and descriptive; moreover, it focused on ECOWAS's military intervention or political mediation in the subregion rather than other strategic processing tools. It did not focus on ECOWAS's involvement in Sierra Leone, though preliminary evidence indicated that conflict resolution positively addressed insurgent conflict in Sierra Leone. Furthermore, the literature did not deeply explore the problems that ECOWAS and its military forces (i.e., ECOMOG) faced prior to and during the intervention in Sierra Leone (e.g., issues of manpower, financial and logistical resources, or strategic mechanisms of counterinsurgency and conflict resolution). Likewise, members' disagreements concerning how to manage the conflict best have not significantly been examined in the literature (Moller, 2009). However, the literature did present discussions regarding the implications of counterinsurgency, particularly using kinetic force (as opposed to non-kinetic force) to defeat insurgent movements. Thus, it provided a basis for future research and policy on counterinsurgency, strategic processing tools, and conflict resolution. The next chapter explains the research design and methodology of this study, including the sample size; methods of data collection, analysis, and management; and ethical issues, including researcher bias, limitations, and participant protection.

Chapter 3: Research Method

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explore the strategic processing tools used by ECOWAS as part of its counterinsurgency and conflict resolution efforts intended to sustain durable peace in Sierra Leone from 1991-2002. Additionally, I analyzed the impact of available resources on ECOMOG's mission in terms of its success and/or failure in the CR process. This chapter includes a description of the research methodology; information on the research design, sampling, population, and data collection, analysis, and management procedures; a discussion of the study's limitations, and a consideration of the ethical issues involved in this research. In the chapter, I will also evaluate my role in handling potential bias and protecting the participants. In conducting the study, I sought to answer the following questions:

- RQ1. What were the strategic processing tools ECOWAS employed in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution to sustain durable peace in Sierra Leone?
- RQ2. How did these strategic processing tools sustain durable peace in Sierra Leone?
- RQ3. What elements, including regional issues, influenced the effectiveness of the ECOWAS's engagement in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution in Sierra Leone?

Research Design and Rationale

The research method chosen for this study was a qualitative explanatory case study. I examined the perspectives of ECOWAS's role in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution to sustain a peaceful settlement in Sierra Leone. I suggested the qualitative method of inquiry for this study to provide a narrative from the viewpoint of the participants' experiences in the conflict (Creswell, 2009; Trochim, 2006). The choice of this method of inquiry was in response to the lack of research addressing or explaining the emergence of the strategic tools of COIN and CR to sustain a durable peace in the Sierra Leone civil war. By using this qualitative explanatory strategy, I sought to reach a determination as to whether ECOMOG acted effectively in its goal to bring peace and stability to Sierra Leone.

Trochim (2006) defined research design as an outline that shows how the research questions are answered. These answers might be obtained using methods, such as interviews, observational field notes, and documents, to collect data and explain human phenomena. Having a research design allows the researcher to plan the conduct of the research and to ensure that all steps are taken, especially in data collection and analysis, are aligned with the study's framework, underlying philosophy, and purpose (Creswell, 2009). The overarching aim of this case study was to offer guidance for ECOWAS's future conflict resolution missions in the subregion. To realize this objective, I analyzed ECOMOG's assignment in Sierra Leone.

Justification of Case Study Over Other Qualitative Designs

In selecting a research design, I considered numerous qualitative approaches to determine a suitable method for this specific study. Qualitative designs are comprised of ethnography, biography, narrative, grounded theory, and phenomenology (Creswell, 2007, 2009). Researchers conducting ethnographic studies explore the cultural manners of a group in a natural environment for an extended period to gather data via observation and interview methods (Creswell, 2007). This design limits the data collection processes to culture (Creswell, 2007; Creswell, 2009). This research was not intended to be a study of cultural behavior or merely descriptive of people in the collection data; thus, I concluded that an ethnographic design was not pertinent to this study.

Researchers using a narrative or biography design will concentrate on the study of a personal life story, a memoir, diary, or journal (Creswell, 2007; Creswell, 2009). This approach was also unsuitable because it would have limited the study's scope to that of an individual's life and experiences. Moreover, it would not have produced the information needed to define ECOWAS's role in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution in the Sierra Leone conflict.

A grounded theory design allows researchers to generate a broad, abstract theory from studies or dealings grounded in the perspectives of the participants (Creswell, 2007; Creswell, 2009). This grounded design uses data created from the research study to construct a theory; this emerging theory forms the outcome after comparing similarities and differences of information (Creswell, 2009). The grounded theory design does not fit the study because this research is not creating a theory but to examine the ECOMOG role

in Sierra Leone. The purpose of this research was to explore the counterinsurgency and conflict resolution efforts of ECOWAS to sustain peace in the affected regions.

With this phenomenological design, I focused on a person's life experiences or activities to illustrate a phenomenon. This approach scrupulously selected a small number of participants that experienced the event to generate in-common correlations of meaning (Creswell, 2007; Creswell, 2009). While compelling, this design was too limited to be effective for this study, as it would concern the experiences of only a few individuals who were selected by me. In addition, use of a phenomenological design would also have left out other vital data (i.e., from the ECOWAS and United Nations) needed to complete the study of ECOMOG participation in conflict resolution in the region, especially in Sierra Leone (Creswell, 2009).

Case Study Design

I determined that the qualitative methodology of a case study design was the most appropriate approach for this research. The definitive end of this case study was to offer guidance for ECOWAS's future conflict resolution missions in West Africa. To accomplish this objective, I analyzed ECOMOG's assignment in Sierra Leone. The justification for using this approach was based on the rationale discussed in this section.

Creswell (2007, 2009) and Rudestam and Newton (2007) asserted that assessing multiple documents can be facilitated by using a case-study approach, through gathering data in-depth and then linking many sources of data. I used this method to compare different data. I investigated sources, such as government memoranda, protocol, policy documents, and cases written on ECOWAS's role in conflict resolution in the region.

Also, I conducted interviews with participants to collect data from personal narratives, court testimonies, and field notes on ECOWAS's role in this conflict resolution.

Additionally, I accessed regional groups and government records for data collection and analysis. Finally, the topic under study was current and noteworthy, and the people conversant about the ECOMOG peacekeeping force in Sierra Leone were alive for first-hand interviews.

A case study design permits researcher to undertake a deep study of an event from a broader outlook, one that is pertinent to a specific time, occurrences, actions, or the people involved (Creswell, 2007; Creswell, 2009). Additionally, it is rich in its flexibility and the comparison of documents, and gathers information from assorted resources (Creswell, 2007, Creswell, 2009; Rudestam & Newton, 2007; Trochim, 2006). In summary, using a case-study research design allowed me to (a) examine comparable documents for reliable information and data collection of ECOWAS and the government, (b) conduct unstructured observations and interviews with individuals who experienced conflict and ECOWAS intervention to gather information, and (c) use libraries and United Nations resources for additional data collection on the regional bloc's involvement in the Sierra Leone conflict of 1991-2002. Thus, the most appropriate method for this research was the case-study method; this method aided in the exploration the extensive sources of data to elucidate the dynamics important to ECOWAS's engagement in the Sierra Leone conflict resolution.

Sample and Population

In the sphere of qualitative research, sampling served as a strategy that referred to the selection of units of analysis that array of actors that could provide insights into the research problem. Sampling size has no limiting rules in qualitative inquiry (Patton, 2002). The sample size depends on what the researcher wants to explore as the goal of the research study (Creswell, 2014; Flick, 2014; Fowler, 2014). Miles and Huberman (1994) and Patton (2002) argued that qualitative research concentrated on in-depth, small samples with sufficient information for the research study. I had to select participants who could contribute to the study because the goal of the qualitative study was to describe, understand, and clarify a human experience (Polkinghome, 2005).

The result of a qualitative case study design must be comprehensive relative to the event investigated in the study. It should not be merely about different groups' anecdotal experiences in the population but should factually record the narratives and recollections of the event. As a result, the combined use of purposive and snowball sampling represents a vital decision process in qualitative research (Creswell, 2009, 2014). Purposive sampling strategy relies on the verdict of the researcher when selecting the units, such as participants, data, cases, or groups that are relevant to the research. Patton (2002) and Tongco (2007) recommended purposive sampling to allow researchers to choose participants and/or data that added new information pertinent for the study. Using snowball sampling subsequently allowed me to seek more participants to contribute to the study through recommendations from interviewed individuals.

The targeted sample size was expected to be 10 participants, continuing until data saturation was reached. The selection criterion was not based on the representativeness of a particular group but the factual experiences of people in the population. Within the framework of this research, the focal participants interviewed were Sierra Leoneans. This populace was considered because they were knowledgeable of the experience of civil conflict and ECOWAS's role in the nation. The participants were considered as individual groups. There were five males and five females' participants from each group: Sierra Leoneans.

I communicated with prospective participants through telephone calls, personal contacts, and letters (including electronic mails). In these communications, I presented myself as a researcher, as well as an overview and purpose of the study. The participants were assured of their anonymity and confidentiality. It was pointed out to the participants that they were chosen because of their expertise and experiences. Moreover, I stated that their experiences would lead to a deeper understanding of counterinsurgency and conflict resolution in Sierra Leone to sustain a peaceful settlement in the area.

Data Collection

The data collection strategies utilized in this research study consists of interviews, document analysis, and observational field notes. Data collection procedures are presented in the section below.

Interview Resources

The first data collection procedure was the conduct of semistructured interviews with the participants. Qualitative interviewing allowed me to obtain participants'

perceptions of the issue or phenomenon studied and to study the participants' terminologies, opinions, and nonverbal gestures to help understand the complexity of their experiences.

Creswell (2009, 2014) and Patton (2002) maintained that the advantages of unstructured or semistructured interviewing were an open-ended approach, which gave researchers flexibility, spontaneity, and responsiveness to follow the information in any direction that best fit the interviewing participants. At the same time, having a set of prepared questions ensured that the most important and pertinent information and perceptions were solicited from the participants. The open-ended questions characteristic of this approach made the qualitative method different from the quantitative methodology; in an interview process, participants were free to use their own words, feelings, and experiences.

Interviews were face-to-face, via telephone, video conference, e-mail, or synchronous chat. Performing interviews via phone, email, mail, and chat lessened the travel distance and expenditures, and allowed participants to respond at a convenient time. However, face-to-face interviews allowed participants to express their feelings freely and also allowed interviewers to observe participants' body language and facial expressions. Additionally, conducting an interview face-to-face enabled the creation of positive rapport between interviewer and interviewee, as people could talk in detail during the interview process. Complex questions and issues were clarified with a few pre-set questions; in this way, the interviewer was not prejudging what was and was not important information. With these advantages of face-to-face interviews, I conducted this

type of interviews to collect data. I conducted individual interviews, rather than group interviews. Individual face-to-face interviews allowed for in-depth and detailed information on the phenomenon being studied. This also lessened the incidence of groupthink, which was a characteristic of group interviews (Hall & Rist, 1999).

In keeping with Creswell (2009), Janesick (2011), and Patton (2002), I developed an interview protocol (see Appendix A). Janesick (2011) recommended that researchers put their questions to the participant in a comprehensible fashion and ask the crucial question first, which paved the way for the other questions, in a systematic manner. Thus, I used the guide to ask the participants in a systematic manner.

The interview protocol included seven open-ended questions. The open-ended questions allowed me to reformulate the questions according to the responses of the participants. In this way, the questions were participant-driven. The interview lasted between 30- to 60-minutes. Participants had the option of stopping the interview or leaving at any time. The researcher took notes. Moreover, conversations were audio recorded to collect the appropriate information. After the interviews were conducted and coded, participants received the transcript of their interviews for checking and revision if necessary.

Interviewees had the option of stopping the interview or leaving at any time. The interview questions were the following:

1. What were some phenomena that influenced ECOWAS leadership to engage in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution to maintain peaceful settlement in Sierra Leone?

2. What were some negative factors that pushed ECOWAS to deploy military forces (ECOMOG) to the conflicted zone?
3. What do you like or dislike about ECOWAS/ECOMOG's role to sustain peaceful solutions in Sierra Leone's civil war?
4. What are the positive and negative developments ECOMOG brought to the conflicted areas?
5. In a few words, how would you assess the performance of ECOMOG in Sierra Leone?
6. Would you recommend the continuation of the organization? How and what would you do or suggest to improve the organization?
7. Would you like to add anything to the discussion before we end the interview? Additionally, would you recommend anybody (or location) who has experienced the conflict for an interview visit?

The interviews occurred in New York, the United States and Freetown, Sierra Leone. The locations of interaction with participants in these countries were at a private and secure place. Informed consent was obtained, and confidentiality was assured. I planned to contact two participants from the Sierra Leone government, ECOWAS, and the United Nations, however; the final number was determined later in the research process. I solicited information from Sierra Leone government, ECOWAS, and UN archives for data collection purposes. Additionally, I gathered information from libraries in Sierra Leone and higher institutions of academia for data collection. After the data

collection was completed, I used both manual and computer software to analyze and interpret the data.

Document Resources

I utilized primary and secondary documents covering the socioeconomic, political, and military spheres of the concurrent role of ECOWAS in the civil war. The case study approach maintains using accessible data as the most trustworthy and reliable sources of information (Creswell 2014, 2009; Singleton & Straits, 2005), especially regarding individuals who experienced the conflict but might have forgotten the details of the event over time or due to other circumstances beyond their control. Recorded data were helpful when analyzing and interpreting the reflections of the civil conflict in the absence of “weak” narratives from people who experienced war. Singleton and Straits (2005) asserted data resources should include personal and public documents, journals, mass media, nonverbal, and archival resources. Therefore, a case study approach allowed me to gather reliable information from the resources noted above for data analysis and interpretation of ECOMOG’s role in the civil conflict in Sierra Leone.

I collected documents from the main library in Freetown, Sierra Leone, ECOWAS, UN/NGOs, libraries, and from among many others in the regional bloc who use strategic processing tools of counterinsurgency and conflict resolution to maintain/keep peace in Sierra Leone. These documents were collated, analyzed, and reviewed to determine the role of ECOWAS in sustaining peace in Sierra Leone. These documents helped in determining counterinsurgency and conflict resolution strategies employed in Sierra Leone.

Data Management, Analysis, and Representation

The strategy for data analysis began with the collection of information that was the most appropriate for the research questions and the case study. These strategic processes for information collection and gathering included data managing, reading, writing, journaling, describing, coding/classifying, analyzing, interpreting, and presenting the results (Creswell, 2009).

In the initial phase, I collected extensive data, which required me to construct a data-managing list of all information gathered by the research. I classified information or documents into files based on themes that were kept in folders. Additionally, I created codes that symbolize the themes for easy access and analysis of data (Creswell, 2009). According to Maxwell (2005), coding did not merely involve counting things. Rather, coding involved fracturing the data and rearranging these into categories, so that these could be compared. Doing so helped in the development of theoretical concepts. Miles and Huberman (1994) added that analysis combined both research components: obtaining the field notes (either written down or summarized) and the coding of the field-notes to analyze these meaningfully. Maintaining the links between these components was a key to achieving a responsible analysis.

In the second phase, I read all data resources collected for the study in full to achieve a comprehensive sense of the materials. Creswell (2009, 2014) wrote that this strategy of reading and making memoranda was an approach in the qualitative method. In the process of reading, writing, and journaling, I also annotated these notes on the gathered documents during the preliminary research structure of the journal. These

findings were in the form of ideas, core themes, and short sentences that transpired in the mind of the reader (Creswell, 2009).

The third phase involved early codes. The early classifications/codes were formulated based on the initial findings of the collected information. I employed a constant comparative method, in which the investigator went through the data thoroughly to arrive at the insightful meaning of the research. The preliminary codes were organized into classifications of similarities and concepts for data analysis and interpretation. The classifications or categories were linked to the research questions as a mechanism to foster the comprehension of ECOWAS's role in COIN and CR to maintain peace in the Sierra Leone region as a whole.

I used a combined data analysis strategy of both computer-based techniques and manual strategies as a supportive approach of description and interpretation. Patton (2002) argued that computer programs were an apparatus that help with this analysis. At the same time, the computer allowed me to consider in depth the meanings of the information. I created themes and analysis, as well as the ability to display the data for classification.

The manual technique permitted me to hand-code and categorize the interview documents personally to create patterns and themes of the study. Additionally, I utilized flash drive and CDs as a backup in case the computer failed to perform data analysis description (test) and interpretation. Additionally, I used the manual method at the beginning of the data assortment process to sketch ideas and sum up information and

material resources into vital notes. This method also was used to code the documents collected, so that essential information could be used to analyze the data.

The data analysis tools of computer and manual-based strategies assisted the development and comparison of data for subjects, concepts, and triangulation of relationships among the collected data. In short, the combined use of computer and manual strategies helped to empower the research with factual natural cross-comparison and classification of resources and passages for more sophisticated analyses across the data compilation. Creswell (2009; 2014) and Patton (2002) wrote that after data analysis and interpretation, I should present the outcomes in a scrupulous way that the reader could readily understand the material. The last phase involved packaging and presenting what was found in the data in the form of a matrix or figure. The presentation of the research findings (of ECOWAS's role in COIN and CR to sustain peace resolution in Sierra Leone) was displayed in different forms, such as the table, numeric, or paragraph formats for the audience to grasp the essence and meaning of the study. I presented research findings in different forms.

Structure of Narrative Report

The research exhibited the findings via the practice of the realist approach of a case study (Creswell, 2009, 2014). With the realist technique, I presented in-depth narratives and explanations of information from participants, documents, and analysis of ECOWAS's engagement in COIN and CR to sustain peace in Sierra Leone. I targeted various groups, such as Sierra Leoneans, to understand their perspectives on ECOMOG's role in the civil conflict. Therefore, I used the narrative resources of words, visuals, and

documents to entice the audiences or readers' interest as a means of getting vital information about the war. Nevertheless, there were no specific set-ups for narrative reporting in a case study approach (Creswell, 2009). In any case, I should form a correct equilibrium among analysis, background information, conversation, and interpretation around 60% to 70% in favor of information. Creswell (2009) maintained that the broad objective of the case study strategy was to frame the narrative structure, and I should have options to shape the formation of the research. The narrative structure of this study guided the aim of the research in offering in-depth analysis and comprehension of the regional forces' role in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution to main peace in Sierra Leone. At the same, I employed narrative structure to fill the gap and contribute to the existing studies that strove to address regional civil conflict in Sierra Leone.

Issues of Quality and Ethics

The qualitative method did not possess a solitary specific technique to validate the quality of findings and ethical concerns in a research inquiry. Nonetheless, this should not be perceived as a weakness in the authentication procedures of the qualitative study. Instead, it should be seen as a process of techniques to understand the complexity of human phenomena that could not be explained in a quantitative lab. In support of the previous argument, Creswell (2009, 2014) asserted that constructing of eminent principles in the study of qualitative method might vary from one research approach to another, depending on the nature of practices and descriptions. Creswell (2009, 2014) further noted that some qualitative researchers attempted to formulate qualitative techniques comparable to the quantitative method of validity as a mechanism for

recognition of qualitative approaches in the research sphere. Furthermore, a quantitative method of validity and reliability concepts would not fit the similar supposition in qualitative research. However, the concepts, such as trustworthiness, credibility, and authenticity, were more commonly employed than validity and reliability in qualitative studies (Creswell, 2009; Patton, 2002). Trochim (2001) argued that validation procedures in qualitative findings should be based on the framework of trustworthiness, dependability, and credibility. Additionally, there was no inflexibility or fixed measurement tool in qualitative validation inquiry. The American Psychological Association (APA, 2010) and Creswell (2009) maintained that credibility should reflect and explain in detail the worldview of the people that experienced the phenomena (as in the case of the conflict in Sierra Leone). Additionally, credit must be given to all references utilized in the study. This method would permit other researchers in the field to replicate or validate the credibility of the study's findings. Likewise, the tone of language used in the study should be equally ethical and respectful across the entire research to establish authenticity (Trochim, 2001).

In this qualitative case study design, I utilized various resources of data, deriving an explanation of events, peer-review, and a member-checking authentication of research outcomes (APA, 2010; Creswell, 2009). I shared the preliminary results with those who were concerned with this investigation for credibility. In addition, I presented an exhaustive account of the events under study as a way for others to examine it properly and for the feasible application or generalization in other applications. Some experts in this domain that entailed academicians, politicians, and individuals who experienced the

conflict would review and comment on the findings of the study. The above measures were placed to strengthen the credibility, trustworthiness, and authenticity of the study (Creswell, 2009).

I emphasized the importance of the issues of ethics in all aspects of the study (i.e., from preliminary data collection, documents, language, analysis, interpretation, and presentation). The APA (2010) maintained that a research study must give credit to all references cited in the study to avoid ethical issues and strengthen credibility. Furthermore, Creswell (2009, 2014) and the APA (2010) suggested that when interacting with participants consent must be obtained from them. Likewise, institutional approval was required when dealing with minors, victims, or underprivileged persons. I attained both consent approval from Walden University and those involved in the research.

Researcher's Role

I undertook the whole study from the joint premises of data anthology, annotation, analysis, interpretation, and data description or report of resources. In the summer of 2014, I visited the capital city of Sierra Leone, Freetown, to collect pertinent data and lay down the framework for the research. I directly selected participants suitable for the research. At the same time, I attained permission to gather documents and perform interviews for the study. Additionally, I utilized letters, emails, and telephone calls to contact all those involved in this inquiry. In the research process of the document collection and the performance of interviews, I explained the rules of the study to the participants. In addition, I used an audio recorder and notes to write the correct information collected for better analysis and interpretation. I served as the main tool for

data gathering in this qualitative case study. In undertaking this research, I sought the approval (number is 12-28-17-0253121) of the Walden University Institutional Review Board (IRB) before performing the study. Data analysis and interpretation began from when information was gathered until the report is deemed ready (Creswell, 2009).

Dealing With Researcher Bias and Limitation

I was the core mechanism for collecting data. The researcher's first-hand experiences placed him or her in close proximity to the information. Dealing with the probability of bias was recognized in this study (APA, 2010; Creswell, 2009). Thus, I placed some measures to address the ethical issue of bias. First, I preserved a high sense of awareness regarding concerns about subjectivity; however, I practiced impartiality in the course of the inquiry. Secondly, I uncovered all inconsistencies and dealt with these throughout the research process. Thirdly, the research outcomes went through expert reviews, peer reviews, and member check techniques to strengthen the trustworthiness, credibility, and ethical issues of the study (APA, 2010; Creswell, 2009; Patton, 2002). Fourth, I shared the early outcomes of the study with some participants to rectify any mistakes in the data. Finally, I used multiple data and documents through analyses and interpretations to compare materials to elevate and strengthen the trustworthiness of the research findings (Creswell, 2009). The measures described above eradicated any researcher bias during the exploration process.

Understanding the limitations of this study started with recognizing and controlling the researcher's subjectivity and bias during collection and interpretation of the data (Creswell, 2009; Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008; Patton, 2002). Another

potential limitation was that some of the data collection was based on participants' decades-old memories. Additionally, access to government and ECOWAS documents might be limited to outsiders due to bureaucratic barriers to data. For example, I traveled to Sierra Leone in July 2014 to collect materials on ECOWAS's role in the country's civil conflict. The processes of obtaining data were slow and took weeks before access was gained due to bureaucratic protocol. Also, documents were not well archived or organized because some departments of the government were undergoing transition. Most importantly, the unprecedented 2014 outbreak of Ebola created widespread panic across the region, forcing authorities to focus more on health issues rather than data collection. The above issues confined my timely access to data. However, Creswell (2007) and Rudestam and Newton (2007) noted that the case study design was flexible, which might allow a researcher to collect different types of data sources for information, interpretation, and analysis. The research scope was limited to the role of ECOWAS/ ECOMOG in Sierra Leone's civil war, participants from Sierra Leoneans, the regional body, and NGOs that experienced the bloody conflict. With all the obstacles encountered in the endeavor, I used documents from the government, NGOs, interviews, and observational field-notes as the primary tools to collect sources, analyze, and interpret data.

Participants' Protection

The protection of informants was paramount to this research. I selected participants based on voluntary consent as a way to maintain their protection. Informants received vivid explanations of the procedures and objectives of the study. Additionally,

they were given the right of guarantee to withdraw at any time from the study without reprisal. In recounting ECOWAS's engagement in COIN and CR to sustain peace in SL, there was the chance that it would trigger horrible reflections of the bloody war crimes committed against them. However, I annotated the horrific war flashback to the informants before gaining their consent. I acknowledged the sensitive nature of the interview, and proceed with caution while questioning to avoid a condition that might lead to a psychologically-tainted outcome. Conversely, I made it clear to the participants that their identities would always remain confidential and anonymous at all times. Based on this situational agreement, I did not use the participants' identities in the data collected, and rather replaced them with characters. The participants' views/data were stored tightly and confidentially. The informants had the full right to dictate the location and time of the study. Creswell (2014), Janesick (2011), the APA (2010), and Patton (2002) maintained that confidentiality and respect for participants' privacy and protection were vital to control the concerns of ethical and credential issues. Other experts and the participants in this field were consulted to review the information noted in the research study.

Summary

This chapter explored the theoretical research methodologies and designs of inquiry for this study. I investigated the ECOWAS's (ECOMOG) role in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution to sustain a durable peace settlement in Sierra Leone. There was literature written on ECOWAS's engagement in regional crises. Nonetheless, negligible attention was made to the importance of the strategic processing

tools of counterinsurgency and conflict resolution to maintain peace in Sierra Leone. As a result, I employed a case study approach to explaining the role that the regional bloc played to achieve peace and stability in Sierra Leone during the war. I used a qualitative research design as the best approach for this research. It provided me with multiple in-depth sources of information to collect, analyze, and interpret data relevant to the study (Creswell, 2009; Rudestam & Newton, 2007). For example, the flexibility of this approach permitted me to conduct face-to-face techniques of inquiry/interviews and to compare documents, observations, and field-notes for data analysis of the research. This same open-ended flexibility of methodology provided me with options, such as direct access to data and/or contacts to some participants for interviews and archived observation (field notes, etc.) pertaining to the involvement by ECOWAS in the conflict. The case study inquiry was conducted in a natural environment to give me unstructured options for data collection and analysis. Computer and manual strategies were used as a procedural tool to classify, analyze, and interpret data collected on the activities of ECOWAS in conflict resolution (Creswell, 2009; Patton, 2002). I employed purposive sampling to select around 10 participants based on the criteria pertinent to the study. The research data were classified and coded for better patterns, analysis, and interpretation of data and the general theme of the study. The research outcomes were verified or authenticated via the process of peer review, well deep narrative, and comparison of data sources. I assured informants of confidentiality and anonymity pertaining to the information they provided during the research inquiry. Their information was paramount to the analysis interpretation and comprehension of ECOWAS's participation in the civil

conflict. Chapter 4 will present the data analysis and findings from the responses to the research questions of the study.

Chapter 4: Results

The western region of Africa is the continent's most unstable and prone-to-conflict region (Aall & Crocker, 2017; Arthur, 2010; Borzel & Hullen, 2015). In the over the two decades that ECOWAS has been involved in the regional conflict, researchers have discussed the group's role in peacekeeping and diplomatic relations in the region, especially in areas of conflict (Aning & Salihu, 2011; Davies, 2010). However, researchers have paid little attention to the importance of strategic processing tools in ECOWAS's involvement in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution. This assessment is based on the study's review of the literature. Therefore, the purpose of this qualitative, explanatory case study was to examine the strategic processing tools used as part of ECOWAS's efforts in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution to sustain a durable peace resolution in Sierra Leone and to determine the elements that led to their effectiveness.

Given the purpose of this study, as well as the history of the Sierra Leone conflict and ECOWAS's involvement in the region, I sought to answer three research questions:

- RQ1. What were the strategic processing tools ECOWAS employed in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution to sustain durable peace in Sierra Leone?
- RQ2. How did these strategic processing tools sustain durable peace in Sierra Leone?

RQ3. What elements, including regional issues, influenced the effectiveness of the ECOWAS's engagement in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution in Sierra Leone?

Chapter reviews the context of the study, setting, demographics of the sample, documents, interviews, and field notes in this study. Next, data collection procedures, including the location, number of participants, and data collection materials, are presented, and the data analysis procedure is described. Consequently, evidence of the trustworthiness of the data will be given, followed by the qualitative results gleaned from the data analysis, including major and minor themes. Finally, the results of the subsequent data analysis are summarized.

Context of the Study

I used a case-study approach as the most appropriate method to provide in-depth contextual perspectives on the study topic. The findings in this chapter consist of the analysis of three sets of data: interviews with Sierra Leoneans; documents from ECOWAS, the U.N., and scholarly article sources; and field notes. In the summer of 2014, I visited the capital city of Sierra Leone, Freetown, to collect pertinent data on ECOWAS's role in the country's conflict and devise the framework for the research. The process of obtaining data was slow, taking weeks before access was gained due to bureaucratic protocols. Additionally, documents were not well archived or organized properly because some departments of the government were undergoing transition. Most importantly, the unprecedented 2014 outbreak of Ebola created widespread panic across the country and region, forcing authorities to focus more on other administrative matters

rather than data collection. These issues limited my timely access to document data.

However, as Creswell (2007, 2013) and Rudestam and Newton (2007, 2015) noted, the case-study design is flexible and allows a researcher to collect different types of data sources for information, interpretation, and analysis (Marshall & Rossman, 2016).

Therefore, I used documents, interviews, and field notes for data analysis and the presentation of results.

Setting

The interviews occurred in Freetown, Sierra Leone, and New York City, United States. My interactions with participants in these countries were at private and secure places in order to ensure the safety, security, and confidentiality of the respondents' identities and answers. In recounting ECOWAS's engagement in COIN and CR to sustain peace in Sierra Leone, there was a chance that it would trigger horrible reflections of the bloody war crimes committed against them. These memories—or the blocking of such memories—could have influenced the responses of the participants (Humper, et al., 2004). However, I acknowledged the sensitive nature of the interviews and proceeded with caution while questioning participants to avoid a psychologically-tainted outcome or risk. Moreover, I made clear to the participants that their identities would remain confidential and anonymous at all times. Additionally, I used resources from interviews, documents, and field notes for data analysis to understand ECOMOG role in Sierra Leone civil war.

Demographics

The selected population for this research was a group of people who experienced ECOWAS's role in COIN and CR to sustain a durable peace settlement in Sierra Leone civil war. Additionally, these individuals were victims of the bloody conflicts. The study refers to victims of conflict as an individual(s) whose basic human rights had been violated during a wartime or peace era. I started recruiting suitable candidates for the research after attaining IRB approval (see Appendix B). Patton (2002) noted that sampling size has no limited rules in qualitative research inquiry. Likewise, Creswell (2014), Fowler (2014), and Flick (2014) added that the sample size depends on what the researcher wants to explore as the goal of the research study. Therefore, the sample size of 10 participants and the selection criteria were not based on the representativeness of a particular group but on the factual experiences of people in the population. Within the framework of this research, the participants who were interviewed were Sierra Leoneans. The study considered this populace because they were knowledgeable of the experience of civil conflict and ECOWAS's role in the nation. The participants were at least 30 years old, and they were adults capable of making decisions for themselves. There were five males and five females' participants, and the median age was 40 years.

Data Collection

The data collection strategies utilized in this research study consisted of interviews, document analysis, and field notes. Data collection procedures are presented in this section. I contacted two individuals to help establish links between participants of the study and myself. These two persons had no direct roles in the study after contacts

were instigated with participants for privacy and safety reasons. Therefore, I was primarily responsible for promoting the study purpose to the participants. People interested in participating in the study had no direct communication with any persons before the interview started. I was directly responsible for recruiting informants, distributing research sign up forms, and collecting documents and field notes sources. The recruitment process of notifying participants started after the study received IRB approval. Creswell (2007, 2013) and Patton (2002) stated that a small number of participants might be adequate for qualitative research. Thus, 10 individuals who had met the research requirements participated in this study. Table 1 shows the breakdown of the participants' age and gender.

Table 1

Research Participants

Research participants	Gender	Age
AJ 1	Male	Above 30 years
SK 2	Male	Above 30 years
OK 3	Male	Above 30 years
MT 4	Male	Above 30 years
DM 5	Male	Above 30 years
FB 6	Female	Above 30 years
AG 7	Female	Above 30 years
MB 8	Female	Above 30 years
HT 9	Female	Above 30 years
SM 10	Female	Above 30 years

I required that participant age must be 30 years or older before involving in the study. Participants' ages are not shown here for their privacy and protection. However, I used above 30 years to indicate that the participants met the research criteria prior to the interview process. Creswell (2013) noted that a researcher should be aware that the qualitative method involved continuing development. Therefore, early strategy for participants' contributions should not be restricted because changes might occur during the study. Participants were divided into two parts (i.e., five males and five females) to strike a balance among their viewpoints about ECOWAS's role in SL civil war.

Interviews

The study examines every single participant and assigned identification numbers (i.e., AJ1, SK2, FB6, and HT9) for privacy, safety, and protection purpose. Additionally, precise time and day for the interviews (about ECOWAS's role in Sierra Leone civil conflict) were arranged per the participant's availability as part of the research protocol and flexibility to collect data. The drive behind the identification numbers mixed with letters had served as the reference point for the informants to evade using their names in the interview process and study report.

I communicated with prospective participants through telephone calls, personal contacts, and letters (including electronic mails). In these communications, I presented myself as a researcher, as well as an overview and purpose of the study. Data collection was primarily through conducting of semistructured interviews with the participants. Furthermore, Creswell (2014; 2013) and Patton (2002) maintained that the advantages of unstructured or semistructured interviewing were an open-ended approach, which gave

researchers flexibility, spontaneity, and responsiveness to follow the information in any direction that best fits the interviewing participants. Interviews occurred face-to-face, and I conducted interviews on an individual basis. In preserving with Creswell (2009), Janesick (2011), and Patton (2002), I developed an interview protocol, which includes seven open-ended questions. The open-ended questions allowed me to reformulate the questions according to the responses of the participants. In this way, the questions were participant-driven. Interviews lasted between 30- to 60-minutes and were audio-recorded to collect the appropriate information. After the interviews were conducted and transcribed, I gave participants a summarized one-page transcript of their interviews for member checking and revision if necessary.

Documents

Creswell (2009, 2014), Yin (2013), Maxwell (2013), and Rudestam and Newton (2015) asserted that assessing multiple documents could be facilitated by the use of a case study approach through gathering data in-depth, and then linking many sources of data. I used this method for comparing different data. Also, I examined government memoranda, protocol, and policy documents; some cases were written on ECOWAS's role in COIN and CR in the region. In other words, the documents employed in this study include the Sierra Leone government, ECOWAS, and United Nations sources that an expert recommended was the Truth and Reconciliation Court (TRC) of Sierra Leone. Furthermore, I used documents of ECOWAS Protocol, Lomé Peace Accord/Agreement (LPA), UN human rights report, and other scholarly sources that were written on ECOWAS role to sustain a durable peace in the SL civil war.

I used primary and secondary documents covering the socioeconomic, political, and military spheres of the concurrent role of ECOWAS in the civil war. The case study approach maintains the use of accessible data as the most trustworthy and reliable sources of information (Creswell, 2014, 2009; Singleton & Straits, 2005; Yen, 2013), especially regarding individuals who experienced the conflict but might have forgotten the details of the event over time or due to other circumstances beyond their control. Recorded data were helpful when analyzing and interpreting the reflections of the civil conflict in the absence of “weak” narratives from people who experienced war. Singleton and Straits (2005) asserted data resources should include personal and public documents, journals, mass media, nonverbal, and archival resources. Therefore, I used a case study approach to gather reliable information from the resources noted above for data analysis and interpretation of ECOMOG’s role in the civil conflict in Sierra Leone (Yin, 2013).

I collected documents from the main library in Freetown, Sierra Leone, ECOWAS, United Nations, libraries, and from among many others in the regional bloc who use strategic processing tools of counterinsurgency and conflict resolution to keep peace in Sierra Leone. These documents were gathered, analyzed, and reviewed to determine the role of ECOWAS in sustaining peace in Sierra Leone. Moreover, these documents of TRC, LPA, ECOWAS Revised protocol 1999, ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework Regulation, Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance, Supplementary to the Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security, and the Special Court

for Sierra Leone had helped in determining the counterinsurgency and conflict resolution strategies employed in Sierra Leone.

Field Notes

In addition to the interviews and documentary sources, I retained a journal to record day-to-day sum-ups of the field notes observations in the course of the study. These notes made part of the analyses and findings. Creswell (2013, 2014) recognized field notes as a credible source of data. During the study, I witnessed some of the physical atmospheres of ECOMOG role in COIN and CR to sustain a durable peace settlement in Sierra Leone civil war and wrote down the observations made. Similarly, the participants' demeanor was stated during interviews and transcribed down in a scanty form. Subsequently, after the interviews, I transcribed the notes completely, as recommended (Creswell, 2013, 2014).

Data Sources

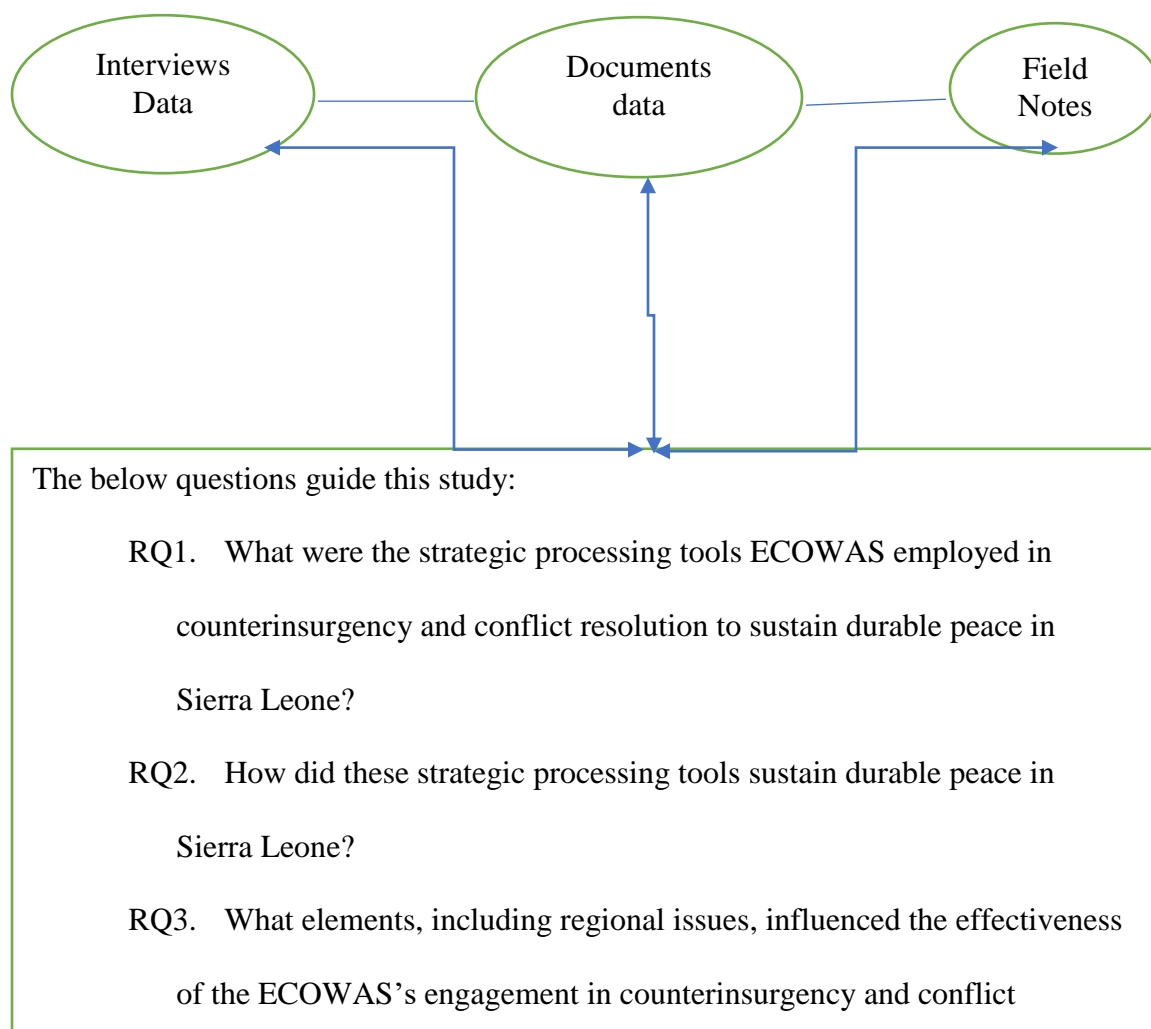


Figure 2. Multiple data sources of data used to answer the research questions.

Member Checking

Once the interviews were performed, audio-recorded, and transcribed, participants were given a one-page transcript of their interviews for member checking and reviewing the data. I received feedback from all the participants with confirmation of accuracy and trustworthiness of the data collected during the interview process. With the informants' verification and authenticity, I commenced the coding process, as recommended

(Creswell, 2013, 2014; Patton, 2002). The coding process divided the data sources into themes; classifications; and topical words for analysis, interpretation, and the result report.

Manual Coding

Table 2 illustrates the manual coding strategy used to construct themes and classifications of data from the research audio and field notes recorded interviews. Unstructured or opened coding was an area where themes developed from the raw data, and then was later employed into classifications and groups of understanding and meaning (Khandkar, 2015). Furthermore, unstructured or open coding might be used to decide the itemization of written data and to enumerate the meaning and significance of participants' standpoints on ECOWAS role in COIN and CR in Sierra Leone civil war. The interview transcripts, documents, and field notes were examined via detailed description, classification/categorical combination, direct interpretation, the creation of patterns, and enhancement of realistic generality. Also, the constant comparative method was used to code the emerging thoughts.

Table 2

Manual Coding: RQ1 Five Themes

RQ1: 5 Themes emerged	Participants' perceptions about ECOWAS/ECOMOG	Seven interview questions that relate to themes/codes
Popular Support Theme	ECOWAS/ECOMOG gains public support from local, the regional, and the international community.	1 – 10
Legitimacy Theme	ECOMOG attains legitimacy from local supports, Sierra Leone government, regional bloc and UN Security Council.	1 – 9
Force Theme	After gaining popular support and legitimacy ECOMOG intervened to fight RUF and stop the bloody war.	1- 6
Psychological Theme	ECOWAS/ECOMOG used psychological methods to help with the resolution process by defusing the situation and giving hope of peace to the public.	1 - 5
Civic Theme	ECOWAS helps to create useful political relationships and civic engagement i.e., the stabilization of society and rebuffing negative stereotypes.	1 - 3

Note. Coding Framework: Codes = Characteristics pertinent to each theme. Displays ECOWAS relation to the five themes and participants' response to them. The first and second themes show support and authorization, the third theme displays power, the fourth deals with people's mind, and the last one manages civic.

Table 3

Manual Coding: RQ2 Three Themes

RQ2: 3 Themes	Participants' perceptions about ECOWAS/ECOMOG	Seven interview questions that relate to theories/codes
Family/community needs	ECOWAS contributes to the social and economic needs of the Sierra Leone populace to secure stability.	1 - 7
Identity needs	ECOWAS/ECOMOG helps instill a sense of recognition and acceptance of one's identity, also addressing an understanding of others.	1 - 4
Security needs	ECOMOG provides psychological and physical on individuals' sense of security and safety.	1 - 4

Note. RQ2: Table deals with the issues of family/community, identity, and security needs of the SL public.

Table 4

Manual Coding: RQ3 Three Themes

RQ3: 3 Themes	Participants' perceptions about ECOWAS/ECOMOG	Seven interview questions that relate to theories/codes
Fatalities	ECOMOG misconduct and extra-judicial killings against innocent people.	1 - 9
Sexual Assault	Some ECOMOG forces partook in the rape of civilian women.	1 - 7
Recommendations	organizational changes, discipline, future endeavors, and other.	1 - 5

Note. RQ3: Table deals with the concerns of fatalities, sexual assault, and recommendations to address them.

Table 5

Manual and NVivo Comparison Coding

RQs 1, 2 & 3 Themes	Manual	NVivo
RQ1: Popular Support code	ECOMOG, public, regional, societal/community backing, welcome, love, die, good work, stop	ECOMOG, local, regional, international supports, appreciate, like, sacrifice, great job, end
Legitimacy Theme	Legitimacy, local supports, SL government, a regional bloc, UN Security Council, COIN/CR, willingness, involve, conflict	Legitimacy, local supports, SL government, a regional bloc, UN Security Council, rebels, commitment, intervention, peace
Force Theme	RUF, bloody, war, hardship, horrors, bad, disasters	ECOMOG, killings, fight, difficult, terrible, lootings, sufferings
Psychological Theme	Destructions, deterrent, public, threat, fear, cut hands, aid, peace	Bombs, atrocity, citizens, harass, dread, cut feet, help, hope
Civic Theme	Houses, relationship, military, town, negative, engagement, stabilization	Hospital, stakeholders, civilian, village, stereotype, society, harmony
RQ2: Family/comm unity needs	Hospital, medicines, ECOWAS, population, shelters, clothes, foods, rehabilitation	Treatment, injury, organization, people, schools, needs, goodwill, development
Identity needs	Recognition, negative, relief, self, behavior, continue life	Acceptance, positive, confidence, others, habit keep moving
Security needs	Psychological, security, Insurgency, individuals, anarchy, looting, towns, problem, law	Physical, safety, rebels, people, destroy, robbing, cities, struggle, orders
RQ3: Fatalities	Conventional war, extra-judicial killings, SL Army/ECOMOG, innocent people, insane	guerrilla warfare, indiscriminate killing, rebels/RUF, innocent civilians, crazy
Sexual Assault	Children, women, rape, maiming, Kill, ECOMOG, dangerous, underage, take away, abuse	Kids, girls, sex, teenager, death, RUF, wicked, young, disappear, misuse
Recommendations	organizational changes, discipline, prepare, decision,	Fix, professional, military personnel, mechanism, regulations, moral

laws, attitude, support	standard, teamwork
-------------------------	--------------------

Note. Shows is the relationship between the manual coding and NVivo Pro 11. Displays the comparison between manual and NVivo Coding of themes that emerged during data collection and analysis.

Table 6

Query of Emerging Themes

RQ1 Public Support	RQ2 Family/Community Needs	RQ3 Fatalities
Legitimacy	Identity Needs	Sexual Assault
Force	Security Needs	Recommendations
Psychological		
Civic		

Note. Themes included public support, legitimacy, force, psychological, civic, family/community needs, identity needs, security needs, fatalities, sexual assault, and recommendations.

Eleven themes emerged from the raw research data gathering and analysis. Each theme had an association with the study's research questions:

1. What were the strategic processing tools ECOWAS employed in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution to sustain durable peace in Sierra Leone?
2. How did these strategic processing tools sustain durable peace in Sierra Leone?

3. What elements, including regional issues, influenced the effectiveness of the ECOWAS's engagement in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution in Sierra Leone?

The field notes comments and recorded audio answers during every participant's verified interview buttressed these emerging themes. I created an order that exemplified the operational and written explanations of the study and participant rejoinders authenticating the descriptions. These themes were vital apparatuses of ECOWAS role Sierra Leone civil conflict.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was conducted in phases, using manual documents and NVivo Pro 11 to store and manage data. These phases included data managing, reading, writing, describing, coding/classifying, analyzing, interpreting, and presenting the results (Creswell, 2013, 2009). In the initial phase, I read all the data resources collected from interviews, documents, and field notes for the study in full to achieve a comprehensive sense of the materials. During this phase, I engaged in the process of reading, writing, and journaling, thereby annotating these notes on the gathered documents during the preliminary research structure of the journal.

The second phase involves early codes. The early classifications/codes were formulated based on the initial findings of the collected information. I employed a constant comparative method, in which I went through the data thoroughly to arrive at the insightful meaning of the research. I organized the preliminary codes into classifications/codes of similarities and themes/concepts for data analysis and

interpretation. The classifications or categories were linked to the research questions as a mechanism to foster the comprehension of ECOWAS's role in COIN and CR to sustain a durable peace settlement in the Sierra Leone region as a whole. Moreover, I used the interview questions and document sources as guideposts for the creation of early codes.

Results

The results of this study are presented in the subsequent section. These findings are separated by each research question; within each of these research questions, the major themes that emerged are discussed, using responses and quotations from the 10 participants, as well as document sources, and field notes about the conflict from outside sources.

Research Question 1

RQ1 was the following: What were the strategic processing tools ECOWAS employed in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution to sustain durable peace in Sierra Leone? Within the first research questions, five themes emerged: popular support, legitimacy, force, psychological, and civic. Each of these themes shows how respondents characterized and understood the types of strategic processing tools used by ECOWAS. Table 7 demonstrates the response rate and percentage of responses for each of these five themes.

Table 7

Themes for Research Question 1

Number of Responses	Percentage of Total Respondents ($n = 10$)
---------------------	--

Popular support	10	100%
Legitimacy	9	90%
Force	6	60%
Psychological	5	50%
Civic	3	30%

Popular support. The first major and core theme explored how ECOWAS/ECOMOG could garner popular support from the regional bloc, the international community, local government, and citizens in Sierra Leone (Aning & Salihu, 2011; Bamfo, 2013; Berdal, & Ucko, 2015). Galula (2006a), Austin (2009), and Kilcullen (2010) conferred that an insurgency conflict was political warfare because the objective was the population itself, where maneuvers were calculated to win it over (i.e., in insurgents) or to retain it submissive (in the case of counterinsurgents). Additionally, they argued that whoever wins the popular support, wins the conflict. Therefore, ECOWAS popular support stemmed from ECOWAS Revised Treaty of the 24 July 1993 Summit (Atuobi, 2011; ECOWAS Commission, 2010) and Human Rights Watch Report (1999) supported the organization because of human rights violations.

Furthermore, ECOWAS Article 58(2)(t) protocol document sought member countries to “establish a regional peace and security observation system and peace-keeping forces where appropriate to intervene” (para. 2). Additionally, it urged member nations to support ECOMOG mandate and operation in Sierra Leone (Boulden, 2012; Dumbuya, 2008; Enuke, 2012). The United Nations Security Council under Chapter VII

and VIII considered the predicament in Sierra Leone as a threat to the global peace and security for the subregion (Bamfo, 2013; Davies, 2010; Dumbuya, 2008).

However, such support, while not always absolute, still outweighed any doubts about the organization. Indeed, all 10 participants (100%) noted that ECOWAS/ECOMOG earned their backing. For some participants, their support was all-inclusive. As AG7 said, “I thank God for ECOMOG presence in Sierra Leone... I appreciated ECOMOG efforts to end the conflict and bring peace to the country.” SK2 gave the organization glowing reviews. As the participant noted, ECOWAS’s willingness to fight and die for Sierra Leone was a large part of their support:

For me, they did a great job. They sacrificed their lives. To fight these guys, if ECOWAS was not there, it would be a big, big disaster... [Their performance] was great. The performance was not good it was great. It was excellent. They sacrifice a lot and [we] are so in love with these ECOWAS soldiers.

MT4 similarly argued that support emerged from the organization working to end the conflict and help Sierra Leone:

When they came, they tried their best to make sure they put our war to an end. So, we appreciate them so much, and we really thank God this association exists. ECOMOG is a very good idea; people bring together to make this kind of wonderful organization. Because it's always for all of us benefit. Because anywhere [that] has a problem I believe that ECOMOG can do their best to restore peace and order there, so let's respect ECOMOG.

OK3 agreed, noting that popular support was a function of the organization's selfless efforts:

I appreciate them. They came into our country [and] most of them never stepped foot in our country, because of our war. They find out they should come and sacrifice their lives and souls for us. So, I really appreciate that.

DM5 also concurred, noting, "What I liked [is] the very fact that they were able to come to help in Sierra Leone. [That] was very, very, very welcoming."

Two other participants rated ECOMOG's performance highly, which acted as a tacit endorsement of support for the organization. HT9 explained,

The performance of ECOMOG to our country was very good. Their main reason in Sierra Leone was to put the war to an end. They tried their level best to see that the war was put to an end. We appreciate it a lot.

SM10 rated the organization's performance as "very perfect," adding, "I appreciate them for their good work, their good job because they left their countries, they came in Sierra Leone to finish the war. So, we thank them for what they did for us."

Finally, two other participants were more conditional in their support of ECOMOG. AJ1 described, "I would give them, let's say, in a grade from 1 to 10, I will give them eight." FB6 agreed, noting there were some problems, but that overall, the organization did well and was well-received by the citizens of Sierra Leone:

ECOMOG performed very well, and I recommended them for that. Although not everything went perfect, I think the intervention forces did their best. For

example, peace was paramount to bring stability to the country, which we are enjoying at the moment.

Attaining the public support, consent of the people, and inspiring public involvement are crucial fundamentals for counterinsurgency victory (Galula, 2006; Hack, 2009; R. Thompson, 1966; Tse-tung, 1938). This was exactly what ECOWAS did base on the responses the participants' provided for the study. This theme stood out as most vital among all themes because it linked all of the citizens' support to end the conflict.

Legitimacy. The second major theme was legitimacy, which was described by 9 out of the 10 participants (90%). In this way, participants noted that ECOWAS/ECOMOG had legitimacy as an organization (and were able to garner popular support) because of two main factors: their willingness to fight on behalf of Sierra Leone and their ability to bring peace. Within these two considerations, participants described the horrific and appalling circumstances that led to ECOMOG's commitment. The organization's readiness to intercede on behalf of the citizens of the country who were experiencing such hardship afforded ECOWAS/ECOMOG with legitimacy.

Legitimacy is a political process which permits authorities to execute their duties easily, likewise; control the public's interactions and resources and act lawfully on their behalf (Coker, 2012; Galula, 1964; Kilcullen, 2010). ECOWAS Revised Treaty of the 24 July 1993 Summit (Atuobi, 2011; ECOWAS Commission, 2010), the Sierra Leone government invitation of ECOWAS under president Kabbah, the African Union, United Kingdom, United States, and United Nations support legalized ECOMOG role in Sierra Leone to halt the bloody civil war. Moreover, not only did the intervention afford

legitimacy; the success of the counterinsurgency and conflict resolution also acted as reinforcement of their legitimacy (ECOWAS Commission, 2008; Frulli, 2000).

FB6 described the horrors occurring in the country, making the case that the intervention by ECOWAS to help stem the tide of these disasters gave the organization legitimacy:

There were too many killings, lootings, children sufferings, abusing women all over the country, using a child to fight (rebels) and teaching them how to shotguns (weapons), and rape. These were just a few of the bad things that had happened during the war, and therefore, ECOWAS [was] deployed its military wing (ECOMOG) to stop the war.

SK2 had a similar response, arguing that the decision by ECOWAS to intervene—given the terrible circumstances on the ground—was a conscious and deliberate choice, which offered a fortification of their legitimacy:

They're involved in the war because ECOWAS find out that the war was not going to be stopped with these rebels. It was too much killing because there were too much killing and no help from the international world. They decide this is an Africa problem. They decide to come in and stop the fight. They did not come here to decide who to get [inaudible], but they came there to stop the killing. The rebels were killing innocent civilians, and the people were flowing to the neighboring country.

As DM5 explained, both the intervention and the subsequent victory augmented the organization's legitimacy. In this way, ECOWAS's legitimacy was a function of both intentions and outcomes:

The main phenomena that influenced ECOWAS to send soldiers to Sierra Leone to fight, was that they found out that the rebels who were attacking Sierra Leoneans, villages, towns, and other places, were very wicked, killing, maiming, dismantling women, raping, and all the rest of it. It was established, and everybody knew that the Sierra Leone army, who were not used to bush war could not fight the rebels. Therefore, they needed professional soldiers, additional armed forces to counteract these rebels. The very fact that they were able to come to help people who were being threatened by rebels, to sacrifice their lives, so as to help drive out the rebels, that was very, very, very positive.

MT4 similarly argued that ECOMOG's commitment to Sierra Leone afforded them legitimacy, particular given the unfamiliarity of the terrain:

Some of us were really confused and tormented what to do. But, at the end ECOMOG come in, they came and participated with us quickly. Them coming here, they are not used to this place, the place is not familiar to them. And they could able to put that kind of effort and fight this war to the end. So, I think I congratulate them anyway.

AG7 likewise explained that this willingness was completed, despite the difficulty of the fight, which added to the sincerity of ECOMOG, in addition to their success in bringing peace: "I like and welcome ECOMOG's engagement in Sierra Leone because

the government fights against the rebels were not easy. Therefore, ECOMOG's presence brought an end to the civil conflict that had tormented the civil populace."

Two other participants used the word "necessary" to describe not only ECOMOG's involvement but also the decision behind their intervention. This concept of need—and the accompanying rescue and relief from that need—was the participants' basis for the organization having legitimacy. HT9 described the following:

ECOMOG [coming] to Sierra Leone was very necessary. ECOMOG came here purposely to finish the war that was destroying many lives of our fellow citizens... Their occupation of such places singularly helped because at that period; we needed them to help us. We needed them for them to seek refuge in us, and then it was very necessary. Their occupation of such places play[ed] a greater role because it helps to end the war.

OK3 agreed, explaining the atrocities that made ECOMOG's intervention so necessary:

Where we were having kids that ... their hands were cut ... small little kids.

Women were raped. And sometimes, we facing so many "destructions," bombed houses down, bombed vehicles. So many properties were lost... And above all that, the war got out of hand now. You cannot differentiate between the rebel and the civilian, so the war was really terrible. So ECOMOG finds it necessary that they should come over to make sure they put an end to a war. Our war to an end, because we are part of ECOWAS countries. So, this is one of the most important reasons why ECOMOG was in Freetown, Sierra Leone to help us end up our war.

A report from Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) agreed with participants' assessments, noting that legitimacy was a function of ECOWAS's willingness to enter the conflict: "In the early years of the conflict, Sierra Leone was largely abandoned by the international community. ECOWAS was the only international (regional) body that was willing to intervene in the Sierra Leonean conflict" (Humper et al., 2004, p. 20). From ECOWAS' Conflict Prevention Framework, the organization similarly defines and defends its legitimacy, taking first a legal approach: "A firm legal basis underpins the relationship between ECOWAS, the African Union and the United Nations on the cardinal issue of peace and security" (ECOWAS Commission, 2008, para. 2). However, the next section of the framework frames ECOWAS' legitimacy in moral terms: "Beyond legal instruments and guidelines, however, the unacceptable levels of deprivation in West Africa, as well as the destructive nature and spillover effects of contemporary regionalized internal upheavals, place-specific moral obligations on the ECOWAS Member States to act" (ECOWAS Commission, 2008, para. 2).

Force. The third major theme that emerged from the first research question was a force. The protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping, and Security signed in Lomé on 10 December 1999 and using force only when necessary to establish security, keep peace, and protect the population (ECOWAS Commission, 2008, 2010; Galula, 1964, 2006; Kilcullen, 2010; Mantas, 2013; Petraeus et al., 2009).

In this theme, participants noted that the ability of ECOMOG to fight and use military power was essential in not only garnering popular support and offering

legitimacy to the organization but also in obtaining peace. As AG7 noted, “I welcome[d] ECOMOG’s engagement in Sierra Leone because the government fights against the rebels was not easy. Therefore, ECOMOG’s presence brought an end to the civil conflict that had tormented the civil populace.” SK2 characterized ECOMOG’s use of force as a much-needed infusion of power. The participant noted that the more people who could fight:

When these rebels come to this country, the country [did not have] enough manpower to fight these rebels. The rest of the countries come together to help this country and fight these rebels to bring a peaceful atmosphere for their own people...The good thing about ECOWAS is the fight had to establish peace there. Peace was the main thing that people of Sierra Leone need.

DM5 agreed, noting that the country’s own soldiers were ill prepared to fight in this type of war; therefore, the competence and expertise of ECOMOG’s soldiers were essential:

It turned out that the Sierra Leone soldiers who were not used to bush war could not fight the soldiers; therefore, many were killed in the battlefield. Therefore, ECOMOG/ECOWAS started proper outfitting to send in trained and qualified soldiers, professional soldiers to help drive away these rebels who were harassing, killing, and maiming the civilian population in Sierra Leone.

Two other participants specifically used the term “professional” to discuss ECOMOG’s soldiers, arguing that their experience, ability, and effectiveness allowed for the end to the war. As MT4 said, “They are professionals. And they really know how to do their military fight... They really, really try their military bring all their military

tactics. To make sure they bring our war to an end.” OK3 agreed, noting, “What they have done here, shows us it's clear that they're professional militaries, and they're equipped to end any civil war in our region. So, I appreciate that.” Finally, while HT9 did not specifically label ECOMOG as professionals, the participant described using their force as precise, practiced, and skilled, thereby aiding in hastening the end of the war:

The ECOMOG were sent and then distributed in different locations because the war extended to another level. We are in the killing of people, burning of the house, rapping of children. We are very disturbing. Then the ECOWAS stopped [inaudible], sending ECOMOG and distributing them to different parts of our country and different districts like Bo, Kenema, or Kono was very necessary because by then, the war was severely disturbed and then it moved to another level... Their occupation of such places singularly helped because at that period; we needed them to help us. We needed them for them to seek refuge in us, and then it was very necessary. Their occupation of such places play [ed] a greater role because it helps to end the war.

While the Report of Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) agreed with participants as far as they noted, “ECOMOG was the surrogate national Army in all but name,” and “Regional intervention came from the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS),” the report did not consider the forces valuable, adding that ECOMOG’s “defence of strategic areas would prove disgracefully weak” (para. 2). In this way, there was a contradiction between the perceptions of the

participants and the post-mortem report on ECOWAS/ECOMOG (Human Rights Watch Report, 1999; Humper et al., 2004).

Psychological. The fourth theme to come from the first research question was psychological, which explored how ECOWAS/ECOMOG employed psychological tools to help with the resolution process. Galula (1964, 2006), Kilcullen (2010), Mantas (2013), and Petraeus et al. (2009) argued that the psychological warfare of winning the hearts and minds of the populations was an important approach to win a war against insurgency in the COIN and CR strategies. ECOMOG used this psychological tactic in different ways in Sierra Leone to win the public support and pave the ways for sustainable peace in the country.

However, these methods were explained differently by each participant. For AJ1, the intervention of ECOMOG acted as a deterrent, inspiring concern and thereby lessening the number of rebels that were willing to fight:

I like it because at least it scared some people off, just like recently the impasse in the Gambia. As we know, when ECOMOG involved, Jammeh was scared he doesn't have the army to support him to go against a mighty power like ECOMOG.

For other participants, the psychological components of ECOMOG were related to the impact on the citizens of Sierra Leone. Three described the psychological element of ECOMOG as the negation or at least diminishment of the psychological warfare that the atrocities wrought against them had brought. MB8 described this as a sense of security and safety that this would not happen again: "That's why ECOWAS [was]

involved so they can help us in trying to make sure this never happens anymore. Because it's not fair to come and rape innocent children, you know, trying to take them from their country.” MT4 noted that ECOMOG was essential because “our war is one of the critical wars in history,” and their presence allowed the participant to believe the organization was “really do[ing] their own best to resolve our war situation here.” OK3 described the impact of ECOMOG as fighting against the fear, dread, and threat of the rebels:

The rebels were doing very wicked things to our people, especially the women.

Because they raped them, and they abused them, and they stole properties. They above all, they cut hands, cut feet. They threatened us there and took away our properties.

Finally, FB6 described this element included a sense of relief and routine for people, allowing them to feel as though life was returning to normal: “At the end of the day people were able to return to their normal lives, schools re-open, and lives went to normalcy in the country.”

Civic. The final theme in the first research question was civic tools, which was cited by three (30%) of the participants. Teamwork between civilians, local government, and the intervening forces were crucial for COIN and CR victory against the insurgency and maintain peace in host nation (Galula, 1964; Kilcullen, 2010; Mantas, 2013; Petraeus et al., 2009). Within this theme, participants considered how ECOWAS helped to create productive political and civil relationships in the country. For FB6 civic engagement included the stabilization of society, rebuffing negative stereotypes, and hardened social lines: “If you see people currently living in harmony it’s due to the peace the intervention

forces brought in the country.” HT9 explained that not only was the stabilization of Sierra Leone important, the political implications and reverberations were also important. The participant explained the following:

Their purpose of coming to Sierra Leone during the wartime was very necessary and very important because they played a greater role. They helped to finish the war that was severely unacceptable so that it wouldn't be extended to our neighboring countries. This war was first of all in Liberia. From Liberia, it extended to Sierra Leone, and then if it were extended to another neighboring country, it would have been something very dangerous that will lead to more deaths of our citizens and citizens from another country.

Conversely, SK2 described the way that ECOWAS outwardly employed civic engagement, particularly within their organization. The participant contended that the chairman of the ECOWAS could build productive political relationships, thereby getting the money needed to send ECOMOG into Sierra Leone. SK2 described the following:

It was total anarchy in Sierra Leone at that time. ECOWAS played a great role. They spent a lot of money. Abacha [the chairman of ECOWAS] was the man; he did it. If it wasn't Abacha, the problem of ECOWAS I don't think it will ever [be] solve[d]. There were too many games in ECOWAS. ECOWAS leaders lay back, they don't want to spend money, and they don't want to send the people. Because of Abacha was interested in Sierra Leone and he was a friend of the former President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, he was able to spend more money on ECOWAS and ECOWAS played a great role...

Moreover, SK2 explained how these productive political relationships were not just within ECOWAS, but also within ECOWAS member nations. The participant noted the following:

At that time, ECOWAS was not financially equipped to fight in Sierra Leone. He was the one who [inaudible]. Matter of fact, during that time it's only Nigerian and Guinean contingents in ECOWAS were fighting in Sierra Leone. Only these two countries were fighting the rebels and the rest of the countries not yet come. It was later on you find out the rest of the countries started sending forces to Sierra Leone.

Documents from the TRC also cited ECOMOG's role in civic life during and after the conflict. According to the commission, the ECOMOG primary acted as an arm of the government:

[ECOMOG] increasingly came to play the role of the government's defense force. It took instructions; and directions from the executive of the Sierra Leone Government and some of its military officers issued orders and commands on behalf of the Government. (para. 2)

Yet, a report by Human Rights Watch characterizes ECOWAS as integral in providing a link between political players: "ECOWAS has played an important role in facilitating peace negotiations between the RUF leaders and representatives of the government of President Kabbah, which took place in Togo, whose president is the current chair of ECOWAS" (para. 2). Similarly, a report by the United Nations noted, "ECOWAS efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement in Liberia included the mediation of a

series of agreements which became the basis for the peace plan of November 1990, including the establishment of an Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU)” (para. 2).

Moreover, ECOWAS themselves, in their Conflict Prevention Framework (2008) noted that their objective was to achieve democracy and political governance, listing 16 activities the organization undertakes to achieve these ends, including “strengthening of the Executive, Legislature and the Judiciary of Member States,” “to promote the professionalization of governance institutions by building and strengthening transparent, nonpartisan, efficient and accountable national and local institutions,” and offering “assist[ance] for political parties with financial resources and know-how to strengthen internal party democracy and participation.” These assessments complicate the idea of how ECOMOG’s presence affected political relationships and the perceptions of those relationships between stakeholders.

Research Question 2

Research Question 2 was the following: How did these strategic processing tools sustain durable peace in Sierra Leone? Within this second research question, there were three major themes: family/community needs, identify needs, and security needs. Each of these themes contributed to the legitimacy, as well as popular support, of ECOWAS/ECOMOG. Table 8 demonstrates the responses to the themes for this question.

Table 8

Themes for Research Question 2

	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Total Respondents ($n = 10$)
Family/Community Needs	7	70%
Identity Needs	4	40%
Security Needs	4	40%

Family/community needs. The first theme from the second research question was family/community needs, which was cited by 7 of the 10 participants (70%). Within this theme, participants discussed how ECOWAS contributed to the material and economic needs of the people of Sierra Leone, which helped secure stability and goodwill towards the organization. As AG7 said, “I appreciated ECOWAS’s role in Sierra Leone because the organization provided clothes, foods, medicines, and shelters to the population.” HT9 concurred, emphasizing the range of needs ECOWAS served, as well as the importance of addressing those needs:

The positive development that ECOWAS brought to Sierra Leone, the ECOMOG came with medicines, [inaudible], some other materials to donate to our peoples in this country. Then they helped to rehabilitate some schools, hospitals, morgues and worship places. Everyone rehabilitated to one hospital that was [inaudible]. By then, I was staying there. Up until now, the hospital is still in use. People are surviving still at that very hospital. The medicines that they brought to Sierra Leone really help us, because by then we have many injured peoples, many sick people that needed help.

MT4 concurred, particularly emphasizing the importance of the medical benefits provided: “The development part they bring, one is the aid they were doing [to] help us, medicines used... They came with drugs, medicines for our children, hospitals et cetera.” OK3 emphasized not only the addressing of medicinal community needs but also the need for shelter. As they described:

They brought us some fuel, some clothes, used clothes. They helped people that lost their homes. They shelter them. And the doctors, they brought many care facilities. All this, they are positive facts...At the same time, some of them, when they came over here, they bring us hospitality for our people that were affected by the war. And they do so many things that you name them.

Similarly, MB8 focused on the help their community received with shelter, in addition to other community needs:

They built Bafa [a house made of zinc]; also, they brought things like ammunition and food. They brought money. They have people to build their house. They have the [inaudible] to make sure people have food, medication, and treatment.

Finally, SM10 described the importance of addressing shelter for the community, particularly in the wake of the destruction wrought by the rebels:

The performance ECOMOG was doing in Sierra Leone was good. They were helping people, giving shelter to people, if they don't have houses. The rebels bombed some houses, some people's houses, they were building houses, building huts for people, saving people. If they hear that rebels are over there, the ECOMOG will go there, fight, to pull out the people there.

Such perceptions were aligned with the ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (2008), TRC of Sierra Leone report (2004), ECOWAS revised protocol (2010), the Lomé peace agreement (1999), and the UN Human Rights Watch Report (1999), which state, in part, that the goal was to provide and “include, but not limited to, humanitarian assistance, restoration, and maintenance of economic and social infrastructure.”

Identity needs. The second theme from the second research question was identity needs, which considered how ECOWAS/ECOMOG helped instill a sense of recognition and acceptance of one’s identity and dignity, while also addressing an understanding of others. The political identity of recognizing individuals and solving their needs was a powerful tool in COIN and CR strategies to gain public support over the insurgency propaganda (Doucey, 2011; ECOWAS Commission, 2010; Galula, 2006a). However, 4 of the 10 participants (40%) cited this theme. For MB8, the most significant aspect of this aspect was a sense of relief and concomitant confidence. As the participant noted, ECOWAS was essential in helping citizens feel that:

I finally have peace of mind. I finally have people coming to help me. So, they bring a kind of, good stuff, stuff that changes the negative already made, so people can continue with their lives and keep on moving. In a positive way, [they] want them to help more and more people and make them feel confident in their own country and their own thing.

Other participants explained that ECOWAS/ECOMOG helped expose them to different ideas and concepts of self and others. As MT4 said, “They're coming to our

country br[ought] so much understanding to change some of our attitudes from negative to positive. Because of the war, most of us learned so many lessons.” OK3 agreed, noting that not only did the organization bring about a sense of unified national identity, but it also helps reveal a sense of civility and progress:

The positive development they brought in our country here, is that most of us, we never know about war. And we, some of our people in the province, never stepped their foot in the city. And they have never been out of our nation. But when the ECOMOG came, it brought some kinds of civilization in our people's face.

Finally, SM10 explained that not only did ECOMOG work to not “expose us” and the lack of “good behavior” that some citizens had. But the participant argued that ECOMOG’s intervention actually worked to help cultivate better qualities in the people’s attitudes: “Some of us don't have good behavior, so they try to change it and put good habits in us.”

According to a Human Rights Watch (1999) Report, ECOMOG added to identity needs by working to reintegrate soldiers from the war. As the report states, “ECOMOG's mandate also includes the implementation of a program for the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of combatants (the DDR program), and training the new Sierra Leone army” (Davies, 2013; ECOWAS Commission, 2010; Glenn, 2012). In this way, there was an attempt to unify the Sierra Leone identity, particularly those who fought in the conflict. ECOWAS (2008) described the role as, in part, helping to reconcile the multiplicities of identities, as well as the conflict those identities may evoke,

arguing that they should conduct “Capacity-building workshops and seminars on mediation and alternative dispute resolution for local peace constituencies, particularly traditional rulers, religious leaders, women groups, youth groups and other civil society organizations,” as well as “financial and technical support” for disputes based on “ethnicity, religion, gender, and youth” (para. 2).

Security needs. The final theme for the second research question, cited by 4 of the 10 participants (40%) was security needs. ECOWAS (2008), TRC of Sierra Leone Report (2004), ECOWAS (2010) revised protocol, the Lomé (1999) peace agreement, and the UN Security Council under Chapter VII and VIII supported ECOMOG to address and provide security needs for Sierra Leone populace. In this theme, participants discussed the psychological and physical impact ECOMOG had on individuals’ sense of security and safety. AJ1 explained the following:

Because at least ECOMOG stabl[ized] the country from the rural area to the capital city, there was no government. No functional government. Actually, the president was actually removed from the country, and he was based in neighboring Guinea... Insurgency and rebels were like everywhere. There were popping up from everywhere, looting and robbing peoples. But they knew that if they [inaudible] an ECOMOG come with their power, they will kick them out.

DM5 explained the sense of safety as coming from ECOMOG’s ability to “help in their own diverse way to protect some towns and cities.” One of these ways, according to DM5, was by the physical construction of infrastructure: “They also build some infrastructures around the country to help the military.” HT9 simply noted that security

came from ECOWAS “saving many innocent lives.” Finally, SK2 noted that the safety and security offered by ECOWAS were essential, even if there were some problems with the organization. As the participant explained,

When ECOWAS came in Sierra Leone, it's like when the rain is coming in a hot summer. You've been struggling for long; then the rain comes, you gonna be so happy. Even if the rain comes, even if it destroys some of the plantations, but at least you were able to survive. You were able to survive and get some food to eat.

That's how ECOWAS was.

More than just the security of knowing where one's next meal would come from, SK2 argued that this sense of safety came from ECOWAS ability to “establish law and order.”

The participant described the following:

This ECOWAS intervention was what we needed at that moment. People were just down without nobody coming from nowhere to help them. We got it going, and the RUF took advantage of our people. When ECOWAS came, it was able to establish and push the military government out power, because the country was in total anarchy. You don't know where to go, you don't know where is safe. When ECOWAS took over, it was able to fight the rebels and push them out of the city and push them far away from the country. ECOWAS involvement was the best thing at the time that the people loved. People were able to get themselves together.

These perceptions similarly seemed to align with the ECOWAS (2008) conflict prevention framework, which noted its objectives were, in part, the “restoration and

reform of governance institutions (political, economic, socio-cultural and security); justice, rule of law, reconciliation and reintegration; and conflict-sensitive development” (para. 2). However, such accounts from the participants seemed in conflict with the TRC documents (Hamper et al., 2004), which pointed to the psychological (and physical) terror that the forces imposed, particularly on women:

Women and girls became the targets in the brutal conflict in Sierra Leone. They suffered abduction and brutality at the hands of their perpetrators. Their vulnerability was deliberately exploited in order to dehumanize them.

Research Question 3

RQ3 was the following: What elements, including regional issues, influenced the effectiveness of the ECOWAS’s engagement in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution in Sierra Leone? The third research question had three themes, all of which addressed the challenges—and possible solutions—for and of ECOWAS. The first two themes—sexual assault and fatalities—were significant problems that came with ECOWAS/ECOMOG’s intervention. The final theme—recommendations—proposed ways that ECOWAS could change to help overcome certain obstacles. Table 9 demonstrates the responses to these themes, as well as any subthemes.

Table 9

Themes for Research Question 3

	Subtheme	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Total Respondents
Fatalities		9	90%
Sexual Assault		7	70%
Recommendations			
	Organizational Changes	5	50%
	Discipline	3	30%
	Future Endeavors	3	30%
	Other	2	20%

Fatalities. The first theme to emerge from the final research question was fatalities. Burton (1990) and Fisher (2009) admonished that conflict resolution necessitates creating decisions that circumvent using force or external extortion to get to the cause of the issue. Also, COIN and CR forces should do their best to avoid and curtail fatalities among the civilian populations. Additionally, unnecessary killings and violence of innocent people might lessen public support, legitimacy, and trust for the intervening forces (e.g., ECOWAS Commission, 2010; Galula, 1964; Kilcullen, 2010; Mantas, 2013; Petraeus et al., 2009). However, 90% of participants noted that the effectiveness of ECOWAS/ECOMOG, including their claims to legitimacy and popular support, were tampered if not badly damaged by what AG7 characterized as “misconduct against innocent people,” including extra-judicial killings. AJ1 described this horrific problem as

a function, in part, of unconventional warfare, with which ECOMOG was not familiar or ready:

Government forces cannot identify civilians from rebels because, as you know, there were civilians and there was no government army. SLA Army (Sierra Leone Army) broke up, and they joined with the rebels, and you can't tell who is a rebel and who is a soldier... Because ECOMOG actually fights a conventional war, but it doesn't know how to fight guerrilla warfare, because guerrilla warfare and a conventional war are totally different. Therefore, ECOMOG sometimes uses a plane to bomb rebels, and civilians could lose their lives during the fight, so; the collateral damage is insane. And the extra-judicial killings were ridiculous because the ECOMOG soldier would arrest somebody, it would be the judge, jury, and executioner at the same time, that's crazy.

DM5 similarly pointed to ECOWAS/ECOMOG's involvement "in killing innocent civilians who were labeled as collaborators," while FB6 echoed the sentiment of the organization taking on the power of life and death: "Some of the things that I dislike about ECOMOG operations were the extrajudicial killings of innocent people indiscriminately without trials." As FB6, such fatalities had wider implications, particularly economic ones for the remaining families:

As a result, people lost breadwinners of their families (by both ECOMOG and the rebels) in the civil war... The intervention forces were killing innocent civilians with no investigation into allegations. As noted previously some of the people killed indiscriminately were the main providers for their families.

Some participants reiterated the killing of innocent people. HT9 said, “The other thing I dislike about them, ECOMOG killed innocent souls that were not rebels,” including a colleague’s daughter who “ECOWAS mistakenly killed because they thought she was part of the rebels.”

Two other participants also had first-hand knowledge of people who were wrongly killed by ECOMOG. SK2 called the killing “random,” saying ECOWAS was killing both civilians and non-civilians:

In the end, one of my best friends, may his soul rest in peace, was caught by ECOWAS. They want to kill him. They say he's a rebel. The thing I don't like about it, they'd not check you, they just kill. That's what I didn't like about the ECOWAS intervention. They don't discriminate. They don't find out whether you are a rebel or soldier or you're not a civilian. When you come to ECOWAS forces for rescue, they kill you. You know?

Moreover, SK2 attributes random killing to the choice of weaponry by ECOWAS:

When this ECOWAS was capturing these cities, you've got a lot of innocent life was gone. This air fight jet was coming from nowhere, killing people randomly... Using more artillery, you kill more innocent people without choosing where is the rebels at or where is not the rebels.

SM10 also told a personal story about the slaying of innocent civilians:

I don't like ECOMOG because of what they did, because they were killing some innocent people. If they come to this area, they will ask people, do you know these people. If we say no, we don't know them, they will kill them. One of my

first cousin's husband, they kill him because of the place they met, the man, they ask people, do you know this person? If they say that no, we don't know this person they will kill him/her.

Finally, OK3 gave an explanation—though not a justification—for these indiscriminate killings, arguing that ECOWAS was scared. Like the previous participants, OK3 had close family members who were victims of this fear:

Some of them were killing innocent civilians that are not even involved in the war, just because they were scared of all Sierra Leoneans. Some Sierra Leoneans were rebels. So, they were not able to identify rebels and civilians at the same time. Some of our important brothers and sisters - family members - they lost their lives through that process.

The report from TRC (2004; documents of Sierra Leone government, ECOWAS bloc, and the United Nations) collaborated the descriptions from the participants. The commission noted the following:

Some ECOMOG soldiers engaged in human rights violations during the defense of the city. The Commission finds that ECOMOG soldiers committed summary executions of civilians, mostly in Freetown, while repelling the invasion of January 1999. These executions were directed largely at persons accused of being “collaborators.”

Sexual assault. In addition to the indiscriminate killing of innocents, 7 out of 10 participants (70%) contended the ECOMOG participated in the rape of civilian women. AG7 described the sexual assault of girls, not even women: “Some of its forces had

followed 12- and 13-years old girls as sex partners, used black magic on our sisters, invaginated underage girls because of their military positions.” DM5 placed the age range only a little higher, also saying that those young girls subsequently disappeared: “ECOMOG soldiers too, when they came, they were going to bed with 14, 15, 16-year-old girls. And even when the forces went away, they took some of the girls with them—some parents don't know up to date their daughters' whereabouts.” HT9 similarly argued that many of these young women were taken away: “When the war was put to an end, they took away our sisters to their own country. They used and abused them.” AJ1 agreed, accusing ECOMOG of “raping young women” and noting that because of that, the “abortion rate was high when ECOMOG was in Sierra Leone.” For those who did not have an abortion, FB6 noted that they were left on their own:

ECOMOG forces impregnated teenage girls, many children went astray, took advantage of or prey over innocent women who knew little about ECOMOG. As a result, before ECOMOG departed the country, they left many pregnant women with children without fathers and supports.

MT4 echoed this sentiment, noting that the forces had “interrelationship with our sisters, which they took away and we never know their destinations up to now. So, some of them get our daughters here pregnant and leave them and go without no coming back.” Additionally, while MB8 distinguished between the good and bad forces, saying “some of them rape[d] people. Not all of them,” the participant still condemned the sexual exploitation of women in need: “[They] rape[d] innocent people that were crying, they

need[ed] help. They raped them; they misused them; they mistreated them badly and stole from them.”

However, despite these two atrocities committed by ECOMOG forces, overall, participants still believed the organization had both legitimacy and popular support. The interviewees or participants’ views about atrocity, rape, killing, and property destructions were all supported by the findings of the TRC (Humper et al., 2004) of the rebels and Sierra Leone army characters and behaviors against the population. As the TRC (2004) noted, “Women and girls were raped, forced into sexual slavery and endured other acts of sexual violence, including mutilations, torture and a host of other cruel and inhumane treatment” (para. 2). The ECOWAS (2008) Revised Treaty the Lomé Peace Accord, and the Human Rights Watch (1999) stressed to solve the issue noted previously among all those involved in the civil war.

Recommendations. The final theme was recommendations, in which participants advised how to change and fix aspects of ECOWAS/ECOMOG. Within this theme, there were four subthemes: organizational changes, discipline, future endeavors, and among others. The first subtheme, cited by five individuals, was organizational changes that can be made to ECOWAS. For DM5, these changes should be about member requirements, as well as enforcement of organizational decisions. First, DM5, noted, “Member states must be prepared at all times, one, to pay their financial contributions, two, to provide military personnel when necessary.” At the same time, DM5 contended, “ECOMOG should find a way to enforce their rules and regulations as long as member states have

signed the protocol, they should be bounded to obey it.” The participant noted that this would provide further legitimacy to the organization, and provided a specific example:

ECOWAS Court has just decided a case between the former Vice-President of Sierra Leone and the government of Sierra Leone. That case, in Sierra Leone, it didn't go well. So, the former Vice-President had to carry the case to the ECOWAS Court, and they have now ruled in his favor. But the implementation of that ruling has yet to happen. So, they should put a mechanism in place wherein member states must be bounded by all regulations as long as you are part of ... you have signed the protocol. You should obey what a court has said.

AG7 suggested membership-based changes; primarily, AG7 noted that there needed to be an expansion of membership to help protect the interests of nations:

My advice for countries that are not part of the organization to become a member of it, because no one knows what might happen in the future (i.e., civil war, military coup, and etc.), which might need ECOWAS's assistance to end the matters.

In a similar vein, FB6 argued that there needs to be “teamwork and support” between the countries and ECOWAS, saying that such changes were “necessary for the organization's development for future prospectus or mission.” Finally, SK2 also considered the future of the organization, mainly arguing that “they need money.” The participant explained the following:

When they get money, this organization is going to be improved. When they've got money, this subregion is going to establish a good government system that

will have their own cities in their own country. You can go to all these West African streets and be peaceful. If they got the money, they would provide security and peace everywhere. I'm recommending if ECOWAS could get more money to finance its operations, it will be good for ECOWAS.

In addition to organizational changes, even ones that implicitly discussed recommendations pertaining to future endeavors, three participants superficially spoke to the need for ECOWAS to focus on potential or upcoming conflicts. As FB6 declared, preparation of the organization was key: “My suggestion to the organization is that it should continue its job, strengthen its team, and always prepare itself for things that might happen in ECOWAS community. So, it forces can intervene at the right time to address problems.” OK3 agreed, noting that ECOMOG needs “more strength,” as well as more training and equipment, “because they are fighting for the interest of our ECOWAS community; so that this organization can last forever. So, that it will continue, continue, continue helping countries that are infected with war.” HT9 suggested that ECOWAS focus on expanding their military efforts: “I would like for ECOWAS to continue these developments and then to put more effort towards the peacekeeping of some nations in Africa.”

However, some participants focused on remedying the wrongs committed by ECOMOG. More specifically, three respondents implored the organization to, as OK3 said, “change some of their bad tricks.” AG7 was more specific and explicit in making ECOWAS/ECOMOG forces more “disciplined and professional in their duties.” This included doing the following:

Avoid following 12- and 13-years old girls, impregnate underage girls, use black magic on young women, vaginate teenagers (to forcefully take young girls' virginity), extrajudicial killings, and rape while trying to maintain stable peace in the country. In short, ECOWAS/ECOMOG forces must change their attitudes and stay focus on the mission with discipline, professional, and uphold a high moral standard in all deploying countries.

In a similar vein, AJ1 described the need for accountability for the crimes that ECOWAS/ECOMOG forces committed, primarily through some sort of enforcement arrangement: "They need a structure whereby they could try somebody, and they could even try their own soldiers, like a military tribunal to discipline them. So, they are not getting away with it, and they're not hiding behind the pretext of war."

Finally, two other participants had other suggestions for ECOWAS/ECOMOG. For MB8, the organization needed to work on their communication skills, particularly in listening and understanding:

They've got to understand to be patient with us. They've got to work with us and listen to our problems. They got to fight for us. They got to make sure that this is our right, this is our place, and this is our thing.

For AJ1, another issue is procedural alterations. More specifically, AJ1 noted that "We still we have border issues and you can't travel sometimes." While ECOWAS countries had promised a universal "ECOWAS passports," which would allow members to "travel freely and do business freely within the West Africa region," no such movement occurred. As the participant said, "We're still waiting around." However, the

most outstanding theme among the emerging topics was public support, which linked all of them to itself. COIN and CR must achieve public support first to lay down the framework for legitimacy and then move to manage the conflict (Galula, 2006; Kilcullen, 2010). Table 10 shows the importance of public support, and it links to the rest of the themes:

Table 10

Popular Support Theme

Popular Support code	Participants' perceptions about ECOWAS/ECOMOG role in Sierra Leone war.	Interview questions & documents that relate to theme/codes.
Supporters & legitimacy	ECOWAS gains public support from local, regional, and international communities.	1-10
Intervention & force	ECOMOG attains general support from citizens, a regional body, and the global community to stop the war.	1-10
Trust & psychology	Rebuild and improve the reliable relationship with the public, Sierra Leone government, and regional community.	1-10
COIN & CR for all themes	Bring all warring parties together for peace settlements.	1-10
Challenges, family/community needs, & identity needs,	Accept constructive criticism (ECOMOG, Sierra Leone government, and UN).	1-10
Reconciliation	ECOWAS and UN facilitate the Lomé Peace Agreement between RUF and Sierra Leone government for peace.	1-10
Friendship	Try to forgive for peace purpose	1-10
Disarmament & security needs	Disarm all combatants in the bloody war.	1-10
Train/Professional & forces	Train former combatant and Sierra Leone forces for peaceful integration	1-10
Re-build society	COIN, CR, and peace processes require everyone's effort.	1-10
Rape underage/women & sexual assault	Must be addressed by all parties in the civil war.	1-10
Indiscriminate killings	More training and must be addressed.	1-10
Instruction/guidance & recommendations	All parties are a willingness to be mentored and trained effectively.	1-10
Appreciation and love	The local population, government, and some international community	1-10

appreciations for ECOMOG but with
some observational caution.

Note. Codes = Characteristics of ECOWAS public support efficacy for COIN & CR.

Evidence of Trustworthiness

Credibility

The qualitative researcher does not possess a solitary specific technique to validate the quality of findings and ethical concerns in a research inquiry. Nonetheless, this should not be perceived as a weakness in the authentication procedures of the qualitative study. However, trustworthiness, credibility, and authenticity are more commonly employed than validity and reliability in qualitative studies (Creswell, 2013; Patton, 2002). Trochim (2001) argued that validation procedures in qualitative findings should be based on the framework of trustworthiness, dependability, and credibility. The APA (2010) and Creswell (2009, 2013) maintained that credibility should reflect and explain in detail the worldview of the people that experienced the phenomena (as in the case of the conflict in Sierra Leone).

In this qualitative case study design, I utilized various resources of data, deriving an explanation of events, peer-review, and a member-checking authentication of research outcomes (APA, 2010; Creswell, 2009; Levitt et al., 2018; Yin, 2013). I shared the preliminary results with those who were concerned with this investigation for credibility. Also, I presented an exhaustive account of the events under study as a way for others to examine it properly and for a feasible application or generalization in other forms. The measures were placed to strengthen the credibility, trustworthiness, dependability, and

authenticity of the study (Creswell, 2009, 2013). I emphasized the importance of the issues of ethics in all aspects of the research (i.e., from preliminary data collection, interviews, documents, field notes, language, analysis, interpretation, and presentation).

Additionally, the member-checking method for all transcribed interview validated the raw data sources that were manually coded and used qualitative software program. All participants authenticated their credentials orally/written and signed a consent form to meet the criteria that permitted them to participate in the research study. The contents of interviews, documents, and field noted provided answers that were aligned with the research questions about the description of ECOWAS's role in COIN and CR to sustain a durable peace settlement in Sierra Leone. At the end of the data collection procedure, I established the credibility and purpose for study. Furthermore, to ensure credibility, trustworthiness, and dependability, I grounded the study on the guidance of the dissertation committee, Walden University guidelines, qualitative rules, and APA (2010) criteria for a qualitative inquiry study.

Confirmability

I conserved prudence and precaution during the study to keep the integrity and general principles of qualitative research. Additionally, I withstood the scrutiny of a peer-review investigation as every facet was clarified via the guidance, experts' recommendations, and university regulations. I adhered to the qualitative method protocol of case study approach of in-depth analysis of multiple sources for data credibility and confirmability (Creswell, 2013; Yin, 2013).

The interview protocol, document data, field notes, and participant consent form facilitated perpetuity during the data gathering procedure. Likewise, interaction with the participants was managed in a specific way. The tools used to collect information and emerging themes, code, and classifications were constant throughout the interviews, documents, and field noted processes. Meticulousness was under the guidance of instruction in managing the approaches of the research; thus, a stable and wealthy information study could be offered to the scientific society.

Additionally, the literature and credible sources aided the research study vis-à-vis to the emerging themes, documents, and field notes discussed previously would serve as a vital learning apparatus for ECOWAS future operations. During the interview process, the participants spoke about the positive changes ECOWAS/ECOMOG brought in their lives. Their passion, concurring body language, composure, and tenacity were indications of their experiences of ECOMOG's role in Sierra Leone civil war had made life changes in the bloody situation.

Transferability

Ensuring transferability, the study was performed based on the guidance of the Dissertation Committee, university guidelines, qualitative methods, and the Manual, all requirements of a qualitative study. The data collected, managed, and analyzed can be replicated by researchers. Likewise, further research may be needed to understand ECOWAS' role in COIN and CR to sustain durable peace in Sierra Leone (and the region that is facing terrorist attacks in Nigeria, Mali, Burkina Faso, etc.).

Dependability

The study was designed and performed using the basic qualitative approach of case study design (Creswell, 2013). I collected data from Sierra Leoneans with experience and knowledge of the civil war. The merits of this study were performed, and the setting of the data collected provides proof of the dependable nature of the study. The data or findings could be replicated using the similar principles as reported. The correct evaluation or assessment of dependability might be found in the dedicated curiosity of any person searching and following the facts of this research study.

Researcher Bias

In employing the case study approach, it was important that I upheld an open-minded attitude through the research study (Creswell, 2013; Yin, 2013). Precaution and attentiveness overcame in presenting information sources in its trustworthy novel setting. Self-assessment was a core habitual that was regularly in the vanguard of my thoughts as I led every day's data collection for the research study. The fundamental principle that guided the study to evade one's biases and adding individual immersion in the research has to do with adherent to the policies and guidelines of the university and dissertation committee.

Summary

The first research question of this study examined the strategic processing tools ECOWAS employed in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution to sustain durable peace in Sierra Leone. Within the first research questions, five themes emerged: popular support, legitimacy, force, psychological, and civic. Each of these themes examined how

respondents characterized and understood the types of strategic processing tools used by ECOWAS.

The first major theme explored how ECOWAS/ECOMOG could garner popular support from the citizens in Sierra Leone. Such support, while not always absolute, still outweighed any doubts about the organization. Indeed, all 10 participants (100%) noted that ECOWAS/ECOMOG earned their backing. The second major theme was legitimacy, which was described by 9 out of the 10 participants (90%). In this way, participants noted that ECOWAS/ECOMOG had legitimacy as an organization (and were able to garner popular support) because of two main factors: their willingness to fight on behalf of Sierra Leone, and their ability to bring peace. The third major theme that emerged from the first research question was a force. In this theme, participants noted that the ability of ECOMOG to fight and use military power was essential in not only garnering popular support and offering legitimacy to the organization but also in ultimately obtaining peace. The fourth theme to come from the first research question was psychological, which explored how ECOWAS/ECOMOG employed psychological tools to help with the resolution process. These methods were explained differently by each participant. The final theme in the first research question was civic tools, which was cited by three (30%) of the participants. Within this theme, participants considered how ECOWAS helped to create productive political relationships.

The second research question explored how strategic processing tools sustained durable peace in Sierra Leone, and within this second research question, there were three major themes: family/community needs, identify needs, and security needs. Each of these

themes contributed to the legitimacy, as well as popular support, of ECOWAS/ECOMOG. The first theme from the second research question was family/community needs, which was cited by 7 of the 10 participants (70%). Within this theme, participants discussed how ECOWAS contributed to the material and economic needs of the people of Sierra Leone. The second theme from the second research question was identity needs, which considered how ECOWAS/ECOMOG helped instill a sense of recognition and acceptance of one's identity, while also addressing an understanding of others. Four of the 10 participants (40%) cited this theme. The final theme for the second research question, cited by 4 of the 10 participants (40%) was security needs. In this theme, participants discussed the psychological and physical impact ECOMOG had on individuals' sense of security and safety.

The third research question, which explored the issues that influenced the effectiveness of ECOWAS had three themes, all of which addressed the challenges—and possible solutions—for and of ECOWAS. The first two themes—sexual assault and fatalities—were significant problems that came with ECOWAS/ECOMOG's intervention. The final theme—recommendations—proposes ways that ECOWAS could change to help overcome certain obstacles. Ninety percent of participants noted that the effectiveness of ECOWAS/ECOMOG, including their claims to legitimacy and popular support, were tampered if not severely damaged, by extra-judicial killings. Moreover, seventy percent contended the ECOMOG participated in the rape of civilian women. However, these crimes did not undercut the popular support and legitimacy of ECOWAS/ECOMOG. The final theme was recommendations, in which participants

advised how to change and fix aspects of ECOWAS/ECOMOG. Within this theme, there were four subthemes: organizational changes, discipline, future endeavors, and among others. This case study design derived data from multiple sources of interviews, documents, and field notes about ECOWAS's role in COIN and CR to sustain a durable peace settlement in Sierra Leone.

Chapter five is the last of the research study report. In this chapter, I elucidated how the literature highlights the emerging themes and results of the data analysis. Also, I gave particulars and understandings into the findings' interpretation, limitations of the research, recommendations, implications of social change, and the conclusion of the case study investigation.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

The purpose of this qualitative, explanatory case study was to explore the strategic processing tools used as part of ECOWAS's counterinsurgency and conflict resolution efforts to sustain durable peace in Sierra Leone from 1991-2002. Additionally, I analyzed the impact of available resources on ECOMOG's mission in terms of its success and/or failure in the conflict resolution process. Most regional countries continue to lack the institutional capabilities and strategic tools to manage internal or cross-conflict crises in their sovereignties (Davies, 2010). Consequently, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau, Guinea-Conakry, Cote d'Ivoire, Nigeria, and Mali have not been able to defend their borders or citizens from violent conflicts (Cham, 2012; Francis, 2009; Olonisakin, 2004). Regional leader created ECOWAS for economic cooperation and social development; ECOMOG was subsequently formed to protect regional stability and peace (Davies, 2010). Despite ECOWAS's storied involvement in regional conflicts, researchers have paid little attention to the importance of strategic processing tools in ECOWAS's involvement in conflict resolution, according to my review of the literature. I aimed to fill this gap in the literature by conducting this study.

I conducted face-to-face interviews with 10 participants, all of whom had experienced ECOWAS's role in COIN and CR to sustain a durable peace settlement in the Sierra Leone civil war. Moreover, I used documents from the Sierra Leone government, ECOWAS sources (such as the ECOWAS Protocol, Lomé Peace Agreement), UN Human Rights Report, and other scholarly sources to examine ECOWAS's role in Sierra Leone war for this case study. In addition to the interviews and

documentary sources, I retained a journal to record my daily field notes and observations during the course of the study.

After analyzing all three sources of data in phases, which included data managing, reading, writing, describing, coding/classifying, analyzing, interpreting, and presenting the findings of this study, I concluded that ECOWAS/ECOMOG was successful in their intervention by utilizing a combination of soft and hard power. This soft power took the form of popular support and legitimacy of the organization from the local, regional, and the international community, as well as psychological factors. Moreover, the use of hard power or force—as a military authority—provided ECOWAS/ECOMOG with both the aforementioned popular support and legitimacy. Also, the ECOWAS sustained impact was premised on fulfilling identity needs, offering a sense of self and community, as well providing material goods and physical security, which acted as a tangible form of power that helped sustain and cement their influence in the region. However, the findings highlighted significant challenges posed by ECOMOG's use of extra-judicial killings and sexual assaults; while such brutalities did not change the cost-benefit analysis of the participants' attitudes toward the organization, such outrages complicated people's perceptions of ECOMOG and possibly tainted its future endeavors in conflict resolution.

In the sections that follow, I review the results of the study as they pertain to the three research questions and the extant literature, interpreting the findings within the context of the research. I discussed the implications and limitations of the findings, and recommendations for both the research and implementation will be made. A summary will conclude this chapter.

Interpretations of the Findings

Regarding the first two research questions, the findings of this study largely reinforced the extant literature on counterinsurgency and conflict resolution. Indeed, the themes discovered aligned with the literature on the theoretical framework (Galula, 1964), as well as more contemporary research regarding the strategic tools used to reach productive outcomes for any conflict resolution settlement (see Burton, 1990b; Bercovitch & Jackson; 2009; Byrne & Senehi; 2009). However, the results of the third research question, which concerned extra-judicial killings and rape, were not addressed in the literature I reviewed; the participants' perceptions of these crimes had a negative impinging on the effectiveness of ECOMOG mission; thus, add to the work on counterinsurgency and conflict resolution.

The first research question of this study centered on the strategic processing tools ECOWAS employed in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution to sustain durable peace in Sierra Leone. Regarding the first research question, five themes emerged: popular support, legitimacy, force, psychological, and civic. All of these themes, in different ways, echoed and reinforced the extant literature (Galula, 1964; Kilcullen, 2010).

Findings related to the first major theme, which centered on how ECOWAS/ECOMOG could garner popular support from the citizens in Sierra Leone, were consistent with the conclusions of extant conflict resolution literature which show that gaining the support and consent of the people and encouraging public participation are vital elements for counterinsurgency success (Galula, 2006; Hack, 2009; R.

Thompson, 1966; Tse-tung, 1938). Kilcullen (2009, 2010) further summarized counterinsurgency as competition to win the favor of the population, while Galula (1964), within the theoretical framework of this study, similarly argued that the first law was that the population's support is as necessary for the counterinsurgent as it was for the insurgent. All 10 participants (100%) noted that ECOWAS/ECOMOG earned their backing. However, while such popular support was not always absolute, the participants of this study felt the good that ECOWAS/ECOMOG performed still outweighed any doubts about the organization. However, popular support also gets a function of backing from outside organizations, including Human Rights Watch (1999) and the United Nations Security Council, which considers the conflict in Sierra Leone as a threat to the global peace and security for the subregion (Bamfo, 2013; Davies, 2010; Dumbuya, 2008). In this way, ECOWAS garnered popular support because of both the backing of the international community and the local and regional society.

The second major theme, legitimacy, also coincided with and strengthened the claims of prior research that legitimacy is essential to promoting peace as a tool for conflict resolution (Galula, 1964; Kilcullen, 2010, Petraeus & Amos, 2006). Indeed, 9 out of 10 people, which was 90% of participants described ECOWAS/ECOMOG as a legitimate organization. For the participants of this study, ECOWAS/ECOMOG had legitimacy as an organization and was able to garner popular support because of two main factors: its willingness to fight on behalf of Sierra Leone and its ability to bring peace. In this way, while the concept of legitimacy coincides with the literature, the definition of such legitimacy differs somewhat from prior research. Galula (1964) and

Kilcullen (2010) asserted that legitimacy is created by strong, just leaders who provide security, personal development, and political opportunity, and eradicate corruption.

Legitimacy allows authorities to perform their duties easily, as well as manage the populace's interactions and resources and act legally on their behalf (Coker, 2012).

Ultimately, these authors argue that counterinsurgency is supposed to help host nations or authorities establish an effective, legitimate government that can address the needs of the masses. In this literature, legitimacy is constructed as the lawful rule of the government through a free political process. However, according to the participants of this study, a structured government and institutions was not necessarily an indicator of legitimacy. Instead, the findings of this study support a definition of legitimacy as occurring through successful conflict resolution and an end to the war.

Conversely, if legitimacy is understood as a political process that allows authorities to execute their duties easily and controls the public's interactions and resources to act lawfully on their behalf (Coker, 2012; Galula, 1964; Kilcullen, 2010), then ECOWAS can be understood as reinforcing the literature. This definition of legitimacy, however, serves as a function of the Sierra Leone government, regional bloc, and the UN Security Council, rather than the perceptions of the participants themselves. The Revised Treaty of the 24 July 1993 Summit (Atuobi, 2011; ECOWAS Commission, 2010), the Sierra Leone government invitation of ECOWAS under President Kabbah, the African Union, United Kingdom, United States, and United Nations all supported the legalized ECOMOG role in Sierra Leone to halt the bloody civil war, offering legitimacy as defined by this latter definition.

A force emerged as the third major theme that came from the first research question. In this theme, participants noted that the ability of ECOMOG to fight and use military power was essential in not only garnering popular support and offering legitimacy to the organization but also in ultimately obtaining peace. Such an understanding of the importance of military might be endorsed by the literature, which often characterized this strategic tool as a kinetic force.

The use of kinetic force refers to the exercise of the power to end inter- or intra-conflict among conflicting parties and has been supported by scholars including Levy (1998), Machiavelli (as cited in Lynch, 2012), Morgenthau (1948), and Waltz (1959). According to Petraeus and Amos (2006) and Kilcullen (2010), using kinetic force aimed to eliminate insurgents' networks, potential supports, and cells. Such a force was essential, according to the participants in this study, which emphasized the need for a professional and trained military force to accomplish peace. However, while TRC agreed with participants as far as ECOMOG had served as the surrogate national Army, then the report did not consider the forces valuable. In this way, there was a contradiction between the perceptions of the participants and the post-mortem report on ECOWAS/ECOMOG (Human Rights Watch Report, 1999; Humper et al., 2004).

Interestingly, Galula (2006b, 1964) argued that the counterinsurgency forces should only use kinetic force 20% of the time to establish security, and should use non-kinetic force the remaining 80% of the time to win popular support. While the findings outside organizations, such as the Human Rights Watch Report (1999), seem to confirm such a position, given the varied themes of soft and hard power that were successful, it is

significant to note that many of these non-kinetic force tactics were successful because of the use of kinetic force. Participants described popular support and legitimacy as a function of the achievement of ECOMOG's military force.

The fourth theme to come from the first research question was psychological, which explored how ECOWAS/ECOMOG employed psychological tools to help with the resolution process. While these methods were explained differently by each participant, three described the psychological element of ECOMOG to be the negation or at least diminishment of the psychological warfare the atrocities wrought against them had brought. This perception indicated a correlation to prior research that asserted that counterinsurgency strategies must inspire public trust and confidence, as well as make the population feel secure despite negative insurgent influence (Kilcullen, 2009). More specifically, Galula (1964, 2006a), Kilcullen (2010), Mantas (2013), and Petraeus et al., (2009) argued that the psychological warfare of winning the hearts and minds of the populations was an important approach to win a war against insurgency in the COIN and CR strategies, which aligned with the participants' perceptions of ECOMOG. However, while previous literature indicated this psychological, strategic tool was a function of building strong police and military force or a relationship between the military and civilians (Galula, 2006a), the conclusions of this study indicated that no such formal structure was needed to arouse comfort and security. Instead, the military successes themselves acted as a psychological, strategic tool.

The second research question explored how strategic processing tools sustained durable peace in Sierra Leone, and within this second research question, there were three

major themes: family/community needs, identify needs, and security needs. Each of these themes contributed to the legitimacy, as well as popular support, of ECOWAS/ECOMOG. Moreover, each of these themes directly correlated to three of Burton's (1990) four common needs that serve as strategic tools to reach productive outcomes for any conflict resolution settlement. The different kinds of needs met for the citizens of Sierra Leone also reinforce Galula's (1964) fourth law of counterinsurgency, which states that the intensity of the vastness of means and efforts are essential. The wide range of material and psychological support offered by ECOWAS/ECOMOG helped sustain their peace efforts, according to the participants of this study.

The first theme from the second research question was family/community needs, which 7 of the 10 participants cited. Within this theme, participants discussed how ECOWAS contributed to the material and economic needs of the people of Sierra Leone. As Burton (1990) noted that, this category included housing, education, healthcare, justice, and equality. The findings of this study primarily indicated the provisions of medicine and the use of hospitals, as well as clothing and housing. In this way, ECOWAS/ECOMOG provided these material goods, it could gain a sense of legitimacy, exhibiting willpower to convince the people that socioeconomic conditions are improving in the state (Austin, 2009; Galula, 2006a; Thompson, 1966). Such perceptions were not only aligned with the extant literature, but also with the ECOWAS (2008), TRC (2004), ECOWAS (2010), the Lomé peace agreement (1999), and the UN Human Rights Watch Report (1999), which noted that the organization's purpose was, in part, to offer humanitarian aid.

The second theme from the second research question was identity needs, which looked at how ECOWAS/ECOMOG helped instill a sense of recognition and acceptance of one's identity, while also addressing an understanding of others. Four of the 10 participants cited this theme. As Huffman (2009) noted that, conflict results from the sense that one's identity was in danger, which led to the feeling that one must fight to survive. Conversely, the exercise of soft power can manifest in the form of engaging, providing and managing the needs of the people to garner support against insurrection (Beck, 2006; Easton, 1989; Frederick, 2012). Helping citizens of Sierra Leone to maintain their national and personal identity was an essential part of the legitimacy and popular support that ECOWAS/ECOMOG accrued. Indeed, the literature has noted that the political identity of recognizing individuals and solving their needs is a powerful tool in COIN and CR strategies to gain public support over the insurgency propaganda (Doucey, 2011; Galula, 2006).

The final theme for the second research question, cited by four of the ten participants, was security needs, which was described by Burton (1999) as the need for stability and well-being. In this theme, participants discussed the psychological and physical impact ECOMOG had on individuals' sense of security and safety. As DM5 noted that, the organization could "protect some towns and cities," or as SK2 said, "establish law and order." Hill (2012) discussed the importance of fulfilling this security need, saying that without security, the elements mentioned previously would be useless. The lack of security may lead to threatening violence against the populace's safety; as a result, the insurgents might provide welfare programs that win them support or

undermine the legitimacy of the government (Hills, 2012). ECOWAS (2008), TRC (2004), ECOWAS (2010), the Lomé peace agreement (1999), and the United Nations Security Council under Chapter VII and VIII supported ECOMOG to address and provide security needs for the Sierra Leone populace. Law and order are additionally essential to a government's legitimacy to reap support from the public and purge insurgents (Austin, 2009; Galula, 1964; Kilcullen, 2010).

However, participants made no mention of Burton's (1990) fourth need, which was personal needs that included the development and achievement of one's potential in society. According to Burton (1990), the failure to meet these stated needs would result in conflict. Moreover, Cook- Huffman (1990), Burton (1990), and Doucey (2011) argued that sustainable peace could not be achieved if the primary needs of people were absent and/or excluded from the process. Notwithstanding, the participants of this study demonstrated that meeting at least a majority of these needs, including community, identity, and security, was sufficient to create a lasting peace.

The third research question, which explored the issues that influenced the effectiveness of ECOWAS, and two of the major themes (i.e., sexual assault and fatalities) were significant problems that came with ECOWAS/ECOMOG's intervention. Ninety percent of participants stated that the effectiveness of ECOWAS/ECOMOG, including their claims to legitimacy and popular support, were tampered if not badly damaged, by extra-judicial killings. Moreover, 70% contended that the ECOMOG participated in the rape of civilian women. However, these crimes did not undercut the popular support and legitimacy of ECOWAS/ECOMOG.

The perceptions were only tangentially supported by the extant literature. Burton (1990) and Fisher (2009) cautioned that conflict resolution requires decision-making that avoided using force or external extortion to get to the cause of the issue. In addition, researchers have noted that unnecessary killings and violence against innocent people might lessen public support, legitimacy, and trust for the intervening forces (e.g., Galula, 1964; Kilcullen, 2010; Mantas, 2013; Petraeus et al., 2009). However, these themes as specifically related to the Sierra Leone conflict were not present in the literature I reviewed. The ECOMOG challenges may be specific to the particular socio-historical and political context, or it could be because prior research has not queried citizens of Sierra Leone or other countries that were recipients of ECOWAS/ECOMOG military force. Despite this absence, these themes that emerged from the final research question can be seen in relation to the theoretical framework of this study. Galula (1963, 1964) warned that using kinetic force can lead to failure; Galula (1964) also argued in his third law that supports from the population was conditional. In this way, the findings of this study indicated that too much kinetic force could be a reason extra-judicial killings and sexual assaults occurred; this type of force created a failure of winning complete popular support and legitimacy.

Limitations

Understanding the limitations of this study starts with recognizing and controlling my subjectivity and bias during the collection and interpretation of the data (Creswell, 2009; Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008; Patton, 2002). Another potential limitation was that some of the data collection was based on participants' decades-old memories.

Additionally, access to government and ECOWAS documents were limited to outsiders due to bureaucratic barriers to data. For example, I traveled to Sierra Leone in July 2014 to collect materials on ECOWAS's role in the country's civil conflict. The processes of obtaining data were slow and took weeks before I gained access due to bureaucratic protocol. Also, documents were not well archived or organized because some departments of the government were undergoing transition. Most importantly, the unprecedented 2014 outbreak of Ebola created widespread panic across the region, forcing authorities to focus more on health issues rather than data collection. The previous issues confined my timely access to data. However, Creswell (2007, 2014) and Rudestam and Newton (2015) noted that the case study design is flexible, which might allow a researcher to collect different types of data sources for information, interpretation, and analysis.

The research scope was limited to the role of ECOWAS/ ECOMOG in Sierra Leone's civil war, participants from Sierra Leoneans, the regional body, and NGOs that experienced the bloody conflict. As I focused on exploring ECOWAS's role in Sierra Leone only, the results might not be generalizable to other regions without further study due to economic, cultural, social, and political differences between regions.

Finally, I limited participation in the study to individuals in Sierra Leone and New York State who experienced the civil war. Thus, the perspective of ECOWAS members directly involved in the counterinsurgency was included in the study.

Recommendations

Given the results of this study, there are a few recommendations to be made.

Sanctions should be imposed on crimes committed by ECOMOG, including extra-judicial killings and rape. The regional body should impose strict sanctions on any person who engages in these illegal acts, regardless of their country or body of origin. This act will ensure that ECOWAS forces fully abide by the international humanitarian law, particularly concerning the protection of civilians and civilian objects. A disciplinary unit should be set up to oversee the imposition of military discipline within the various ECOWAS contingents and to address violations of international humanitarian law and other serious abuses by ECOWAS troops. This act will help contribute to both the legitimacy and popular support of the organization, and assist in managing a future conflict in the subregion. The ECOWAS Revised Treaty (1993) the Lomé Peace Accord (1999), and the Human Rights Watch (1999) Report have stressed the need to solve these issues noted previously among all those involved in the civil war.

To enable ECOWAS to avoid problems such as extra-judicial killings and rape; thus, ECOWAS soldiers must receive the appropriate training in international human rights and humanitarian law before a mission. Also, the soldiers should get training on lessons learned from previous operations, precisely at the three ECOWAS training and education centers of excellence. Furthermore, mission objectives, as well as scope, should be as clearly articulated as possible right from the onset. Vision, concepts, doctrine, and procedures should not be limited to only peacekeeping. This act will help keep the organization structured and on-task.

While ECOWAS can project forces for peace operations and to modify its organizational structure, it does not have the economic capacity to manage and resolve conflicts without external assistance. ECOWAS is also not positioned to unilaterally intervene and end the conflict in a member state and without the support of the United Nations. Although there is the political will to do so and protocols to facilitate such interventions, the funds, coordination, and structures required are not available. The smaller and weaker economies of member states are the cause of these states of affairs making it impossible for ECOWAS to raise funds for interventions. Thus, the members should give more money to the organization; likewise, they should maintain strong ties with the United Nations and the African Union.

Implications

The results of this study plan to provide propositions for ECOWAS and other relevant groups on how to manage potential insurrection, terrorism, or conflict in the subregion effectively, such as that caused by Boko Haram in Nigeria or Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb in Mali. The formation of ECOWAS with its attendant responsibility in conflict management in the subregion remains the pivotal step that should be maintained to match the prevalence of armed conflict in several parts of West Africa; this study can help optimize the work of ECOWAS.

Also, this study aims to help regional leaders and policymakers to formulate strategic policies to control insurgency, counterinsurgency, and conflict resolution and prevention in the region. Likewise, the study intends to provide ECOWAS with strategies

that can be used to produce positive social change and peaceful coexistence between all peoples in a region, such as conflict-ridden territories in Sierra Leone.

Finally, the study contributes to the literature on counterinsurgency and conflict resolution, by detailing the strategic processing tools used to maintain a durable peace in Sierra Leone that is currently absent from the literature. Moreover, the research can also be of great use to students of Peace and Conflict Studies. The challenges and success that outlined in this study can aid students in obtaining a more nuanced understanding of the art of negotiation and conflict management.

Conclusion

The purpose of this qualitative, explanatory case study was to explore the strategic processing tools of ECOWAS's role in the counterinsurgency and conflict resolution efforts to sustain durable peace in Sierra Leone. Additionally, this study analyzed the impact of available resources on ECOMOG's mission in terms of its success and/or failure in the conflict resolution process.

The results of this study indicated that ECOWAS/ECOMOG was successful in their intervention by utilizing a combination of soft and hard power. This soft power took the form of popular support and legitimacy of the organization, as well as psychological factors. In addition, the organization's sustained impact was premised on fulfilling identity needs, offering a sense of self and community. Also, using force—as a military authority—provided ECOWAS/ECOMOG with both the aforementioned popular support and legitimacy. Besides, their provision of material goods and physical security acted as a tangible form of power that helped sustain and cement their influence in the region.

However, the findings of this study also found significant challenges posed ECOWAS/ECOMOG's use of extra-judicial killings and sexual assaults; while such brutalities did not change the cost-benefit analysis of the participants' attitudes towards the organization, such outrages complicated the perception of ECOWAS/ECOMOG, and possible tainted future endeavors.

Overall, these findings—particularly within the first two research questions—largely reinforced the extant literature on conflict resolution. Indeed, the themes discovered aligned with the literature of both the theoretical framework of (Galula, 1964), as well as more modern research as to the strategic tools used to reach productive outcomes for any conflict resolution settlement. However, the results of the third research question—which explored the crimes of extra-judicial killings and rape—were not addressed in the literature; the participants' perceptions of these elements impinging on the effectiveness of ECOWAS/ECOMOG added to the work on conflict resolution.

References

- Aall, P., & Crocker, A. C. (2017). *The fabric of peace in Africa: Looking beyond the state*. Ontario, Canada: Centre for International Governance Innovation.
- Adeniran, I. A. (2012). Regional integration in the ECOWAS region: Challenges and opportunities. *Africa Portal Backgrounder*, 19, 1-7. Retrieved from <https://www.africaportal.org/>
- Alliez, E., & Negri, A. (2003). Peace and war. *Theory, Culture, & Society*, 20(2), 109-118. doi:10.1177/0263276403020002007
- American Psychological Association. (2010). *Publication manual of the American Psychological Association* (6th ed.). Washington, DC: Author.
- Anderson, C. (2010). Presenting and evaluating qualitative research. *American Journal of Pharmaceutical Education*, 74(8), 141. Retrieved from <https://www.ajpe.org/>
- Aning, K. E. (2005). The challenge of civil wars to multilateral interventions—UN, ECOWAS, and complex political emergencies in West Africa: A critical analysis. *African and Asian Studies*, 4(1-2), 1-20. doi:10.1163/1569209054547256
- Aning, K. E. (2009). *ECOWAS and conflict prevention in West Africa: Confronting the triple threats*. New York, NY: Centre on International Cooperation.
- Aning, K. E., & Atuobi, S. (2011). The neglected economic dimensions of ECOWAS' negotiated peace accords in West Africa. *Africa Spectrum*, 3, 27-44. Retrieved from <https://journals.sub.uni-hamburg.de/giga/afsp/>
- Aning, K., & Salihu, N. (2011). Accountability for intervention: Negotiating civilian protection dilemmas with respect to Economic Community of West African States

and African Union interventions. *African Security*, 4, 81-99.

doi:10.1080/19392206.2011.579024

Arthur, P. (2010). ECOWAS and regional peacekeeping integration in West Africa:

Lessons for the future. *Africa Today*, 57(2), 2-24. doi:10.2979/africatoday.57.2.2

Atuobi, S. (2011). ECOWAS and mediation in West Africa: Toward an enhanced

capacity. *Harvard Africa Policy Journal*, 7, 29-40. Retrieved from

<http://apj.hkspublications.org/>

Austin, J. L., III. (2009). *Joint Publication 3-24: Counterinsurgency operations*.

Washington, DC: Departments of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force, Coast Guard, and Joint Chief of Staff. Retrieved from

https://fas.org/irp/doddir/dod/jp3_24-2009.pdf

Bamfo, N. (2013). The political and security challenges facing ECOWAS in the 21st

century: Testing the limits of an organization's reputation. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 3(3), 12-23. Retrieved from

<http://www.ijhssnet.com/>

Bangura, Y. (1997). *UNRISD reflections on 1996 Sierra Leone Peace Accord*. Retrieved

from <http://reliefweb.int/report/sierra-leone/unrisd-reflections-1996-sierra-leone-peace-accord>

Banks, M. (1987). *Four conceptions of peace*. In D. J. D. Sandole & X. Sandole-Staroste

(Eds.), *Conflict management and problem-solving: Interpersonal and*

international applications (pp. 259-271). London, England: Francis Pinter.

- Basu, P. (2008). Confronting the past? Negotiating a heritage of conflict in Sierra Leone. *Journal of Material Culture*, 13(2): 233-247. doi: 10.1177/1359183508090896.
- Beck, G. (2006). Immanuel Kant's theory of rights. *Ratio Juris*, 19(4), 371-401.
doi:10.1111/j.1467-9337.2006.00336.x
- Bell, C. (2000). *Peace agreements and human rights*. Great Clarendon, England: Oxford University Press.
- Bercovitch, J., & Jackson, R. (2009). *Conflict resolution in the 21st century: Principles, methods, and approaches*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Berdal, M., & Ucko, D. H. (2015). The use of force in UN peacekeeping operations. *The Royal United Services Institute Journal*, 160, 6-12.
doi:10.1080/03071847.2015.1016718
- Berewa, S. (2001). Addressing impunity using divergent approaches: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the special court. In United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (Ed.), *Truth and reconciliation in Sierra Leone: A compilation of articles on the Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (pp. 53-60). Freetown, Sierra Leone: David Williams Associates.
- Blanken, L., & Overbaugh, J. (2012). Looking for intel or looking for answers? Reforming military intelligence for a counterinsurgency environment. *Intelligence and National Security*, 27, 559-575. doi:10.1080/02684527.2012.688307
- Borzel, T., & Hullen, V. V. (Eds.). (2015). *Governance transfer by regional organizations*. London, England: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Boulden, J. (2012). The rise of the regional voice in UN Security Council politics. *The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, 13(2), 63-71.
Retrieved from <http://blogs.shu.edu/diplomacy/>
- Brown, N. B. (2009). Tips from the experts: Research methods for comprehensive science literature reviews. *Issues in Science and Technology Librarianship*.
Retrieved from <http://www.istl.org/09-spring/experts1.html>
- Bullington, J. R. (2008). Woodrow Wilson's fourteen points and the long debate in U.S. foreign policy. *American Diplomacy*. Retrieved from <http://www.historyplace.com/speeches/wilson-points.htm>
- Burris, V. (1999). Class structure and political ideology. *Critical Sociology*, 25(2/3), 308-332. doi:10.1163/156916399746077
- Burton, J. W. (1972). *World society*. London, England: Cambridge Press.
- Burton, J. W. (1990a). *Conflicts: Human needs theory*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.
- Burton, J. W. (1990b). *Conflict: Resolution and prevention*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.
- Byrne, S., & Senehi, J. (2009). Conflict analysis and resolution as a multidiscipline: A work in progress. In J. D. D. Sandole, S. Byrne, I. Sandole-Staroste, & J. Senehi (Eds.), *Handbook of conflict analysis and resolution* (pp. 3-16). New York, NY: Routledge.

- Carver, T. (2009). The politics of Ideologie-Kritik: Socialism in the age of neo/post Marxism. *New Political Science*, 31(4), 461-474.
doi:10.1080/07393140903322547
- Cashman, G. (2013). *What causes war? An introduction to theories of international conflict* (2nd ed.). Plymouth, England: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Central Intelligence Agency. (2013). *U.S. world fact book: Sierra Leone*. Retrieved from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/sl.html>
- Cham, K. (2012). Border tensions grow as Guinea extends Sierra Leone group. *Africa Review*. Retrieved from <http://www.africareview.com>
- Christopher, B. (2012). Jean Jacques Rousseau. In N. E. Zalta (Ed.), *The Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy*. Retrieved from <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2012/entries/rousseau/>
- Coker, C. (2012). Ethics of counterinsurgency. In P. B. Rich & I. Duyvesteyn (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of insurgency and counterinsurgency* (pp. 119-127). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Colarik, A., & Janczewski, L. (2012). Establishing cyber warfare doctrine. *Journal of Strategic Security*, 5(1), 31-48. doi:10.5038/1944-0472.5.1.3
- Cook-Huffman, C. (2009). The role of identity in conflict. In J. D. D. Sandole, S. Byrne, I. Sandole-Staroste, & J. Senéhi (Eds.), *Handbook of conflict analysis and resolution* (pp. 19-31). New York, NY: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

- Cowell, F. (2011). The impact of the ECOWAS protocol on good governance and democracy. *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, 19(2), 331-342. doi:10.3366/ajicl.2011.0015
- Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Cromartie, A. (2012). Field manual 3-24 and the heritage of counterinsurgency theory. *Millennium Journal of International Studies*, 41(1), 91-111. doi:10.1177/0305829812451973
- Cubitt, C. (2011). Building an illiberal peace: Post-conflict reconstruction in Sierra Leone. *Africa Peace and Conflict Journal*, 4(1), 1-14. Retrieved from http://www.academia.edu/1775422/Building_an_illiberal_peace_the_reconstruction_of_Sierra_Leone
- Dafoe, A., Renshon, J., & Huth, P. (2014). Reputation and status as motives for war. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 17, 371-391. doi:10.1146/annurev-polisci-071112-213421

- Davies, A. B. V. (2010). Development cooperation and conflict in Sierra Leone. *Conflict, Security, & Development*, 10(1), 57-76. doi:10.1080/14678800903553886
- Davies, S. J. (2013). Just do it differently? Everyday making, Marxism and the struggle against neoliberalism. *Policy & Politics*, 41(4), 497-513. doi:10.1332/030557312X655756
- Deutsch, M., & Coleman, P. (Eds.). (2000). *The handbook of conflict resolution: Theory and practice*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Doucey, M. (2011). Understanding the root cause of conflicts: Why it matters for international crisis management. *International Affairs Review*, 20(2), 1-11. Retrieved from <http://www.iargwu.org/>
- Draman, R., & Carment, D. (2003). Managing chaos in the West African subregion: Assessing the role of ECOMOG in Liberia. *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies*, 6(2), 1-31. Retrieved from <http://jmss.org/>
- Dumbuya, A. P. (2008). ECOWAS military intervention in Sierra Leone: Anglophone-Francophone bipolarity or multipolarity? *Journal of Third World Studies*, 25(2), 83-102. Retrieved from [https://getinfo.de/app/ECOWAS-Military-Intervention - in-Sierra-Leone-Anglophone/id/BLCP%3ACN070044776](https://getinfo.de/app/ECOWAS-Military-Intervention-in-Sierra-Leone-Anglophone/id/BLCP%3ACN070044776)
- Easton, S. A. (1989). *Woodrow Wilson and the progressive era, 1910-1917*. Norwal, CT: Press.
- Economic Community of West African States Commission. (2008). *Regulation MSC/REG.1/01/08; ECOWAS conflict prevention framework*. Abuja, Nigeria: Author.

- Economic Community of West African States Commission. (2010). *ECOWAS revised treaty*. Abuja, Nigeria: Author.
- Economic Community of West African States Protocol. (2001). *Supplementary protocol on democracy and good governance, supplementary to the protocol relating to the mechanism for conflict prevention, management, resolution, peacekeeping and security*. Abuja, Nigeria: Author.
- Elsevier, B. V. (2009). War and local collective action in Sierra Leone. *Journal of Public Economic*, 93(11-12), 1144-1157. doi:10.1016/j.jpub eco.2009.07.012
- Enuka, C. (2012). United Nations and ECOWAS joint intervention in Sierra-Leonean conflict: An analysis of the problems of peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peace enforcement. *The IUP Journal of International Relations*, 6(3), 52-66. Retrieved from https://www.iupindia.in/International_Relations.asp
- Evenson, E. M. (2004). Truth and justice in Sierra Leone: Coordination between commission and court. *Columbia Law Review*, 104(3), 730-768. Retrieved from <https://columbialawreview.org/>
- Field Manual: Counterinsurgency* (No. FM 3-24/MCWP 3-33.5). (2006). Washington, DC: Department of the Army. Retrieved from <http://armypubs.army.mil>
- Fisher, J. R. (2009). *Interactive conflict resolution: Dialogue, conflict analysis, and problem-solving*. In J. D. D. Sandole, S. Byrne, I. Sandole-Staroste, & J. Senehi (Eds.), *Handbook of conflict analysis and resolution* (pp. 328-338). New York, NY: Routledge.

- Flick, U. (2014). *An introduction to qualitative research* (5th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Forere, M. (2012). Is discussion of the “United States of Africa” premature? Analysis of ECOWAS and SADC integration efforts. *Journal of African Law*, 56(1), 29-54. doi:10.1017/S0021855311000234
- Fowler, F. J. (2014). *Survey research methods* (5th ed., Vol. 1). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Francis, J. D. (2009). Peacekeeping in a bad neighborhood: The economic community of West African States (ECOWAS) in peace and security in West Africa. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, 9(3), 87-116. Retrieved from <http://www.ajol.info/>
- Frankfort-Nachmias, C., & Nachmias, D. (2008). *Research methods in the social sciences* (7th ed.). New York, NY: Worth.
- Frederick, R. (2012). Kant’s social and political philosophy. In N. E. Zalta (Ed.), *The Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy* (n.p.). Retrieved from <http://plato.stanford.edu/>
- Friedman, A. J. (2011). Manpower and counterinsurgency: Empirical foundations for theory and doctrine. *Security Studies*, 20, 556-591. doi:10.1080/09636412.2011.625768
- Frulli, M. (2000). The special court for Sierra Leone: Some preliminary comments. *Ejil*, 11, 857-869. doi:10.1093/ejil/11.4.857

- Galula, D. (1964). *Counterinsurgency warfare: Theory and practice*. Westport, CT: Praeger Security International.
- Galula, D. (2006a). *Counterinsurgency warfare: Theory and practice*. Westport, CT: Praeger Security International.
- Galula, D. (2006b). *Pacification in Algeria 1956-58*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.
- Galvin, D., & Giles, L. (2003). *Sun Tzu: The art of war*. New York, NY: Fine Creative Media.
- Glenn, J. (2012). Uneven and combined development: A fusion of Marxism and structural realism. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 25(1), 76-95. doi:10.1080/09557571.2011.649245
- Glennerster, R., Jameel, L. A., Miguel, E., & Rothenberg, E. (2011). *Collective action in diverse Sierra Leone communities*. Retrieved from <http://www.povertyactionlab.org/>
- Goldmann, M. (2005). Sierra Leone: African solutions to African problems? *Max Planck Yearbook of United Nations Law*, 9, 457-515. Retrieved from <http://papers.ssrn.com>
- Hack, K. (2009). The Malayan emergency as counter-insurgency paradigm. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 32(3), 383-414. doi:10.1080/01402390902928180.383-414
- Hills, A. (2012). Insurgency, counterinsurgency and policing. In P. B. Rich & I. Duyvesteyn (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of insurgency and counterinsurgency* (pp. 98-108). New York, NY: Routledge.

- Howard, M., Paret, P., & Brodie, B. (1984). *Carl Von Clausewitz on war*. NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Huffman, D. (2011). Violence, just in time: War and work in contemporary West Africa. *Cultural Anthropology*, 26(1), 34-57. doi:10.1111/j.1548-1360.2010.01079.x
- Hughes, G. (2012). Intelligence-gathering, special operations and air strikes in modern counterinsurgency. In P. B. Rich & I. Duyvesteyn (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of insurgency and counterinsurgency* (pp. 109-118). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Human Rights Watch. (1999). *Sierra Leone: Getting away with murder, mutilation, and rape*. 11(3A). Retrieved from <http://www.hrw.org/>
- Humper, C. J., Jones, M. L., Jow, S. A., Kamara, J., Sooka, L. Y., Schabas, W., & Torto, S. (2004). *Witness to truth: Report of the Sierra Leone truth and reconciliation commission*. Accra, Ghana: Graphic Parking.
- Humphreys, M. (2005). Natural resources, conflict, and conflict resolution: Uncovering the mechanisms. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49, 508-537. doi:10.1177/0022002705277545
- Iwilade1, A., & Agbo, U. J. (2012). ECOWAS and the regulation of regional peace and security in West Africa. *Democracy and Security*, 8, 358-373. doi:10.1080/17419166.2012.734228
- Iyer, P. (2011). Development versus peacebuilding: Overcoming jargon in postwar Sierra Leone. *Africa Peace and Conflict Journal*, 4(1), 15-33. Retrieved from <http://www.apcj.upeace.org/>

- Janesick, J. V. (2011). *Stretching exercises for qualitative researchers* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Kabia, M. J. (2009). *Humanitarian intervention and conflict resolution in West Africa: From ECOMOG to ECOMIL*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Kapust, J. D. (2010). Acting the princely style: Ethos and pathos in Cicero's on the Ideal Orator and Machiavelli's The Prince. *Political Studies*, 58, 590-608.
doi:10.1111/j.14679248.2009.00793.x
- Kelman, C. H. (2009). *A social-psychological approach to conflict analysis and resolution*. In J. D. D. Sandole, S. Byrne, I. Sandole-Staroste, & J. Senehi (Eds.), *Handbook of conflict analysis and resolution* (pp. 170-183). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Ketokivi, M., & Choi, T. (2014). Renaissance of case research as a scientific method. *Journal of Operations Management*, 32(5), 232-240.
doi:10.1016/j.jom.2014.03.004
- Khandkar, S. H. (2015). *Open coding*. Retrieved from <http://pages.cpsc.ucalgary.ca/~saul/wiki/uploads/CPSC681/open-coding.pdf>
- Kieh, G. K. (2009). The roots of the second Liberian civil war. *International Journal on World Peace*, 26(1), 7-30. Retrieved from <http://ijwp.org/>
- Kilcullen, D. (2006). *Twenty-eight articles: Fundamentals of company-level counterinsurgency*. Retrieved from <http://smallwarsjournal.com/documents/28articles.pdf>

- Kilcullen, D. (2009). *The accidental guerrilla: Fighting small wars in the midst of the big one*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Kilcullen, D. (2010). *Counterinsurgency*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Kriesberg, L. (2015). *Realizing peace: A constructive conflict approach*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Laue, J. H. (1987). The emergence and institutionalization of third-party role in conflict. In J. Burton & F. Dukes (Eds.), *Reading in conflict management and resolution* (pp. 257-275). London, England: Francis Pinter.
- Le Billon, P., & Levin, E. (2009). Building peace with conflict diamonds? Merging security and development in Sierra Leone. *Development and Change*, 40(4), 693-715. doi:10.1111/j.1467-7660.2009.01568.x
- Lederer, K. (1980). *Human needs: A contribution to the current debate*. Cambridge, MA: Oelgeschiager, Gunn, & Hain.
- Levitt, M. H., Creswell, W. J., Josselson, R., Bamberg, Frost, M. D., & Suarez-Orozco, C. (2018). Journal article reporting standards for qualitative primary, qualitative meta-analytic, and mixed method research in psychology: The APA publication and communications board task force report. *American Psychological Association*, 73(1), 26-46. doi:10.1037//amp0000151
- Levy, S. J. (1998). The causes of war and the conditions of peace. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 1, 139-165. doi:10.1146/annurev.polisci.1.1.139

- Levy, S. J. (2011). Theories and causes of war. In C. J. Coyne & R. L. Mathers (Eds.), *The handbook on the political economy of war* (pp. 13-32). Glos, England: Edward Elgar.
- Lynch, C. (2012). War and foreign affairs in Machiavelli's Florentine histories. *The Review of Politics*, 74, 1-26. doi:10.1017/S0034670512000034
- Maiangwa, B. (2015). Assessing the Responses of The Economic Community of West African States to the Recurring and Emerging Security Threats in West Africa. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 52(1) 103-120. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*. doi: 10.1177/0021909615570951
- Mantas, M. G. (2013). Shafer revisited - the three great oughts of winning the hearts and minds: Analysing the assumptions underpinning the British and Dutch COIN approach in Helmand and Uruzgan. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 24, 731-750. doi:10.1080/09592318.2013.857934
- Marks, A. T. (2005). Counterinsurgency and operational art. *Low Intensity Conflict & Law Enforcement*, 13(3), 168-211. doi:10.1080/09662840600560527
- Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. (2016). *Designing qualitative research* (6th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Mattis, N. J. (2006). *Small-unit leaders' guide to counterinsurgency*. Washington, DC: Department of the Navy; U.S. Marine Corps.
- Maxwell, A. J. (2005). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Maxwell, A. J. (2013). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- McLeod, T. (2015). *Rule of law in war*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Miles, B., M., and Huberman, A., M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Millar, G. (2012). Our brothers who went to the bush: Postidentity conflict and the experience of reconciliation in Sierra Leone. *Journal of Peace Research*, 49(5), 717-729. doi:10.1177/0022343312440114
- Mokuwa, E., Voors, M., Bulte, E., & Richards, P. (2011). Peasant grievance and insurgency in Sierra Leone: Judicial serfdom as a driver of conflict. *African Affairs*, 110(440), 339-366. doi:10.1093/afraf/adr019(P 341)
- Møller, B. (2009). Africa's subregional organisations: Seamless web or patchwork? *Crisis States Research Centre Working Paper Series*, 56(2), 1-31. Retrieved from <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/>
- Morgenthau, J. H. (1948). *Politics among nations: The struggle for power and peace*. New York, NY: Alfred Knopf.
- Nagl, J. A. (2002). *Counterinsurgency lessons from Malaya and Vietnam: Learning to eat soup with a knife*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Ndumbe, A. J. (2001). Diamonds, ethnicity, and power: The case of Sierra Leone. *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 12(4), 90-105. Retrieved from <https://muse.jhu.edu/>

- Nguyen, R. (2013). Navigating jus ad bellum in the age of cyber warfare. *California Law Review*, 101(1079), 1079-1129. Retrieved from <http://www.californialawreview.org/>
- Nwauche, E. (2011). Enforcing ECOWAS law in West African national courts. *Journal of African Law*, 55(2), 181-202. doi:10.1017/S0021855311000106
- Obi, L. C. (2009). Economic community of West African States on the ground: Comparing peacekeeping in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau, and Côte d'Ivoire. *African Security*, 2(2-3), 119-135. doi:10.1080/19362200903361945
- Oksamytna, K. (2014). Conflict management and resolution in the 21st century: Strategies and techniques available to the international community. *Millennium Journal of International Studies*, 42(3), 879-887. doi:10.1177/0305829813485145
- Olonisakin, F. (2004). Windows of opportunity for conflict prevention: Responding to regional conflict in West Africa. *Conflict, Security, & Development*, 4(2), 181-198. doi:10.1080/1467880042000259103
- Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Leech, N. L. (2007). Sampling designs in qualitative research: Making the sampling process more public. *The Qualitative Report*, 12(2), 238-254. Retrieved from <http://www.nova.edu/>
- Paliwal, S. (2010). The primacy of regional organizations in international peacekeeping: The African example. *The Virginia Journal of International Law Association*, 51(1), 185-230. Retrieved from <https://vjil.org/>

- Passman, M. (2015). A fractal concept of war. In P. V. Fellman, Y. Bar-Yam, & A. A. Minai (Eds.), *Conflict and complexity: Countering terrorism, insurgency, ethnic, and regional violence* (pp. 149-164). New York, NY: Springer.
- Patapan, H., & Sikkenga, J. (2008). Love and the leviathan: Thomas Hobbes's critique of Platonic eros. *Political Theory*, 36(6), 803-826. doi:10.1177/0090591708323362
- Patton, Q. M. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Peace Accords Matrix. (2015). The Lomé peace agreement 1999. *Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame*. Retrieved from <https://peaceaccords.nd.edu/accord/lom-peace-agreement>
- Petraeus, H. D., & Amos, F. J. (2006). *FM3-24/MCWP 3-33.5: Counterinsurgency*. Retrieved from <http://www.fas.org/irp/doddir/army/fm3-24.pdf>
- Petraeus, H. D., Amos, F. J., & McClure, J. (Eds.). (2009). *U.S. Army U.S. Marine Corps counterinsurgency field manual*. Kissimmee, FL: Signalman.
- Rana, W. (2015). Theory of complex interdependence: A comparative analysis of realist and neoliberal thoughts. *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, 6(2), 290-297. Retrieved from <http://www.ijbssnet.com/>
- Rashid, I. (2000). The Lome peace negotiations. In *Paying the price: The Sierra Leone peace process*. Retrieved from <http://www.c-r.org/>
- Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., Nicholls, C. M., & Ormston, R. (Eds.). (2013). *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Roxborough, I. (2007). Counterinsurgency. *The American Sociological Association*, 6(2), 15-21. doi:10.1525/ctx.2007.6215
- Rudestam, K. E., & Newton, R. R. (2007). *Surviving your dissertation: A comprehensive guide to content and process* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Rudestam, K. E., & Newton, R. R. (2015). *Surviving your dissertation: A comprehensive guide to content and process* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Rummel, R. J. (1981). Understanding conflict and war. *The Just Peace*, 5, 37-55.
Retrieved from <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/>
- Sadler, B. G. (2009). Reason as danger and remedy for the modern subject in Hobbes' Leviathan. *Philosophy Social Criticism*, 35(9), 1099-1118. doi:10.1177/0191453709340638
- Sampson, T. I. (2011). The responsibility to protect and ECOWAS mechanisms on peace and security: Assessing their convergence and divergence on intervention. *Journal of Conflict & Security Law*, 16(3), 507-540. doi:10.1093/jcsl/krr022
- Sandole, J. D. D. (2009). *Epilogue: Implications for the theory, research, practice, and teaching*. In J. D. D. Sandole, S. Byrne, I. Sandole-Staroste, & J. Senehi (Eds.), *Handbook of conflict analysis and resolution* (pp. 531-533). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Sandole, J. D. D., Byrne, S., Sandole-Staroste, I., & Senehi, J. (Eds.). (2009). *Handbook of conflict analysis and resolution*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Sewall, S., Nagl, A. J., Petraeus, H. D., & Amos, F. J. (2007). *U.S. Army/Marine Corps counterinsurgency field manual*. IL: University of Chicago Press.

- Shin, J.-H., Cheon, S.-P., & Eom, J.H. (2014). The role and responsibility of cyber intelligence in cyber warfare. *Advanced Science and Technology Letters*, 51, 305-308. doi:10.14257/astl.2014.51.68
- Singleton, R. A., & Straits, B. C. (2005). *Approaches to social research* (4th ed). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Snyder, T. J. (2011). Counterinsurgency vocabulary and strategic success. *Military Review*, 91(6), 23-28. Retrieved from <http://usacac.army.mil/>
- Stam, H. (2010). Theory. In N. Salkind (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of research design* (pp. 1499-1503). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Steinberger, J. P. (2008). Hobbes, Rousseau, and the modern conception of the state. *Journal of Politics*, 70(3), 595-611. doi:10.1017/S002238160808064X
- Tavares, R. (2011). The participation of SADC and ECOWAS in military operations: The weight of national interests in decision-making. *African Studies Review*, 54(2) 145-176. doi:10.1353/arw.2011.0037
- Themner, L., & Wallensteen, P. (2011). Armed conflict, 1946-2010. *Journal of Peace Research*, 48(4), 525-536. doi:10.1177/0022343311415302
- Thomas, G. (2011). A typology for the case study in social science following a review of definition, discourse, and structure. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 17(6), 511-521. doi:10.1177/1077800411409884
- Thompson, R. (1966). *Defeating communist insurgency: The lessons of Malaya and Vietnam*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.

- Thompson, W. R., & Levy, J. S. (2010). *Causes of war*. West Sussex, England: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Throntveit, T. (2011). The fable of the fourteen points: Woodrow Wilson and national self-determination. *The Journal of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations: Diplomatic History*, 35(3), 445-481. doi:10.1111/j.1467-7709.2011.00959.x
- Tongco, C. D. M. (2007). Purposive sampling as a tool for informant selection. *Journal of Plants, People, and Applied Research Ethnobotany Research & Applications*, 5, 147-158. Retrieved from <http://www.ethnobotanyjournal.org/index.html>
- Trochim, W. M. K. (2006). *Research methods knowledge base: Introduction to design*. Retrieved from <http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/index.php>
- Tse-tung, M. (1938). *On protracted war*. Retrieved from www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/Vol.-2/mswv2_09.htm
- Tse-tung, M. (2007). *On guerilla warfare*. S. B. Griffith (Transl.). Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Waltz, K. (1959). *Man, the state, and war: A theoretical analysis*. New York, NY: Columbia.
- Wiley, J. J., & Coyle, F. P. (2013). Cyberwarfare doctrine and strategy execution using a semantic approach. *International Journal of Multimedia and Image Processing*, 3(1-4), 154-163. Retrieved from <http://infonomics-society.org/ijmip/>

- Williams, D. P., & Haacke, J. (2008). Security culture, transnational challenges, and the Economic Community of West African States. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 26(2), 119-136. doi:10.1080/02589000802124813
- Woodside, A. G. (2010). *Case study research: Theory, methods, practice*. Bingley, England: Emerald.
- Wulf, H., & Debiel, T. (2010). Systemic disconnects: Why regional organizations fail to use early warning and response mechanisms. *Global Governance*, 16, 525-547. doi:10.5555/ggov.2010.16.4.525
- Yabi, O. G. (2010). *The role of ECOWAS in managing political crisis and conflict: The cases of Guinea and Guinea-Bissau*. Abuja, Nigeria: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.
- Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case study research: Design and methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Yin, R. K. (2013). *Case study research: Design and methods* (5th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Zimmerman, F. H. (2007). *Why insurgencies fail: Examining post-world war II failed insurgencies utilizing the prerequisites of successful insurgencies as a framework* (Unpublished masters' thesis). Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA.

Appendix A: Interview Questions

1. What were some phenomena that influenced ECOWAS leadership to engage in counterinsurgency and conflict resolution to maintain peaceful settlement in Sierra Leone?
2. What were some negative factors that pushed ECOWAS to deploy military forces (ECOMOG) to the conflicted zone?
3. What do you like or dislike about ECOWAS/ECOMOG's role to sustain peaceful solutions in Sierra Leone's civil war?
4. What are the positive and negative developments ECOMOG brought to the conflicted areas?
5. In a few words, how would you assess the performance of ECOMOG in Sierra Leone?
6. Would you recommend the continuation of the organization? How and what would you do or suggest to improve the organization?
7. Would you like to add anything to the discussion before we end the interview?

Additionally, would you recommend anybody (or location) who has experienced the conflict for an interview visit?

Appendix B: IRB Approval

IRB irb@mail.waldenu.edu

Thu 12/28/2017, 5:53 PM

Dear Mr. Touray,

This email is to notify you that the Institutional Review Board (IRB) has approved your application for the study entitled, "Regional organization's role in counterinsurgency and conflict resolutions: ECOWAS as a case study."

Your approval # is 12-28-17-0253121. You will need to reference this number in your dissertation and in any future funding or publication submissions. Also attached to this e-mail is the IRB approved consent form. Please note, if this is already in an on-line format, you will need to update that consent document to include the IRB approval number and expiration date.

Your IRB approval expires on December 27, 2018. One month before this expiration date, you will be sent a Continuing Review Form, which must be submitted if you wish to collect data beyond the approval expiration date.

Your IRB approval is contingent upon your adherence to the exact procedures described in the final version of the IRB application document that has been submitted as of this date. This includes maintaining your current status with the university.

Your IRB approval is only valid while you are an actively enrolled student at Walden University. If you need to take a leave of absence or are otherwise unable to remain actively enrolled, your IRB approval is suspended. Absolutely NO participant recruitment or data collection may occur while a student is not actively enrolled.

If you need to make any changes to your research staff or procedures, you must obtain IRB approval by submitting the IRB Request for Change in Procedures Form. You will receive confirmation with a status update of the request within 1 week of submitting the change request form and are not permitted to implement changes prior to receiving approval. Please note that Walden University does not accept responsibility or liability for research activities conducted without the IRB's approval, and the University will not accept or grant credit for student work that fails to comply with the policies and procedures related to ethical standards in research.

When you submitted your IRB application, you made a commitment to communicate both discrete adverse events and general problems to the IRB within 1 week of their occurrence/realization. Failure to do so may result in invalidation of data, loss of academic credit, and/or loss of legal protections otherwise available to the researcher.

Both the Adverse Event Reporting form and Request for Change in Procedures form can be obtained at the IRB section of the Walden website:

<http://academicguides.waldenu.edu/researchcenter/orec>

Researchers are expected to keep detailed records of their research activities (i.e., participant log sheets, completed consent forms, etc.) for the same period of time they retain the original data. If, in the future, you require copies of the originally submitted IRB materials, you may request them from Institutional Review Board.

Both students and faculty are invited to provide feedback on this IRB experience at the link below:

http://www.surveymonkey.com/s.aspx?sm=qHBJzkJMUx43pZegKlmdiQ_3d_3d

Sincerely,

Libby Munson

Research Ethics Support Specialist

Office of Research Ethics and Compliance

Walden University

100 Washington Avenue South, Suite 900

Minneapolis, MN 55401

Email: irb@mail.waldenu.edu

Phone: (612) 312-1283

Fax: (626) 605-0472

Information about the Walden University Institutional Review Board, including instructions for application, may be found at this

link: <http://academicguides.waldenu.edu/researchcenter/orec>
